

The Ryedale Historian

Number 17

1994 1995



*A distant upland view: Hawnby Hill (centre right) and Easterside (right) above the valley of the river Rye
Credit. North York Moors National Park*

Notes



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Editorial

This is a difficult time for those concerned with archaeology in the country at large. To lack of money for research and excavation, is now added administrative disruption as a result of the proposed reorganisation of those local government bodies in whose ownership many ancient sites and monuments lie. In our own area the possible privatisation of the Forestry Commission may put at risk public access to, for instance, the remarkable number of round and long barrows in Wykeham Forest whose preservation is presently the object of friendly cooperation between officials of the Commission and of the North York Moors National Park.

Nevertheless there are two developments to welcome in this seventeenth issue of the *Ryedale Historian*. One is the recent arrival to make its permanent home in York, of the Council for British Archaeology, and its decision to throw open membership to individuals. 1994 marks the fiftieth anniversary of the Council. It is currently considering ways of encouraging the voluntary sector in archaeology without - in its own carefully chosen words - 'appearing to be patronising or over prescriptive'.

If a register of landscapes of historic importance, as proposed in the 1990 Green Paper, is ever to be completed, voluntary labour will be needed to make a systematic record of field boundaries, walls, hedgerows, patterns of cultivation - human marks in all their diversity in the countryside. The article about Pockley by Dr Brian Roberts on page (15) provides an object lesson in how to go about such an exercise. Readers will observe that the technique is not simple, while those taking part need a good eye, a steady hand, and the ability to peer over hedges and walls without upsetting people on the other side.

Volunteers have played a major part in the appeal for funds to enlarge the Ryedale Folk Museum at Hutton-le-Hole. With grants from public and private bodies over £200,000 has been raised to provide a new reception area, shop, and offices open to the public for the first time in 1994. The Museum, which recently won an award for the excellence of its educational services, was brought into being by Mr Bert Frank. Some years ago Mr Raymond Hayes wrote an appreciation of his work which appeared in the *Ryedale Historian*. We reprint part of it below.

Helmsley Archaeological Society gratefully acknowledges financial help from Ryedale District Council and the North York Moors National Park towards the cost of publication: the National Park has kindly provided photographs. Miss Anna Bisset compiled the index which can be obtained for a small extra charge (details on the back page).

Anne Taylor.

Bert Frank, Founder and First Curator of the Ryedale Folk Museum.

An appreciation by R. H. Hayes

Born in 1914 Bert grew up at Primrose Hill, Hutton le Hole. As a boy he used to go out with me collecting butterflies and moths, and down Hutton Beck to hunt fossils and explore the valley.

His first job, as a keeper's lad at Yoadwath for Colonel Holt, ended in 1929 when he had severe congestion of the lungs. When he recovered he took various farming jobs in Gillamoor and Fadmoor. In 1937 he was employed as a gardener by Mrs Butterworth at Greystones, and there fell in love with and married Eveline Shone.

When war broke out he was offered the managership of Lund Farm by Norman Wall who also farmed Rock House, Hartoft. At this time Bert came to know the father and grandfather of his successor as curator, Douglas Smith; they farmed at Low Row Mires, Hartoft. In 1947 Mr Wall sold the Lund, and Bert farmed for himself at Bainwood for some twelve years. He then sold the stock, mainly because it was such a hard place, and his sons were not keen on farming. But whilst he was at Bainwood he converted three small cottages into a single farm house and so gained his liking for building.

The next move was to Bridge Cottage, Lastingham, where in 1962 he became involved in an exhibition in aid of the church organ. While looking after the collection of exhibits with P. C. Clark he had the idea of a more permanent collection. Another exhibition was held in 1963 on the vicarage lawn after which several people said they did not want their exhibits back, so Bert stored them in his garage along with a number of querns, from Spaunton, and corn dollies he had made under the tutelage of Miss Carter of Hamley. He made a charge of 3d per head to the public at holiday times. During this period Bert dug with me on the ruins of Spaunton Manor and spent some time pointing up the foundations there. A little later, after moving to Hutton, he ran a travelling shop for Arthur Stocks of Appleton, which provided him with an excellent opportunity for collecting items around the farms, particularly in Farndale. Indeed, some farmers, when they saw Bert's van approaching, would say to the farm-hand; 'Put t'awd stack sheet ower t'implement or Bert Frank a'll want it'.

In 1963 the Misses H. and M. Crosland, sisters of the late Wilfrid Crosland, the well known antiquary and W. E. A. tutor, told me they had heard Mr Frank had a small museum at Lastingham full to overflowing. They suggested that I ask him if he would like to take over Wilfrid's former museum room at Hutton-le-Hole where he had held exhibitions in aid of the village hall in the 1930s. Bert soon transformed the building and opened his museum in three rooms. Gradually he lost his garage, cool-house and the barn where he kept wood, to the museum.

When the last Miss Crosland died, their house and a sum of money were left to Bert so that the museum could continue. So he gave up his job and used his savings to support it. He soon set about converting the long narrow paddock behind the house into a folk park. First came a working blacksmith's shop. There is a story that when he was bringing some blacksmith's bellows back from Blakey Gill, the nozzle was poking out of his car boot, and he was accused of carrying a machine gun.

The witch's hut followed the smithy, then Stang End, a 16 -17th century cruck farmhouse brought from Danby. The Rosedale Elizabethan glass furnace was led stone by stone over the moors on a trailer built by Bert's son, Robin, and the furnace was duly opened by Sir A. Pilkington of the famous glass making family. Next came an even bigger operation, dismantling, removing, and rebuilding Harome Hall; soon afterwards, the Pickard Cottage, a charming example of a labourer's dwelling of the 18th-19th century, and the Peasant Cottage in late medieval style, entirely Bert's plan and creation. The last major construction was the Urra Horse Wheel Shed and Barn, where he installed the early 19th century thrashing drum from Trowbridge. Even when he was ill he made a replica of the medieval pottery kiln to hold a fine collection of vessels from a destroyed kiln at Thirlyby. His ingenuity and organising genius have never flagged - though even Bert can slip up. When the old Helmsley cricket pavilion was being transferred he was responsible for numbering the items but when we tried to re-assemble them, they all seemed to bear the number B III.

While all this development was going on various systems of management were tried for the Museum. Finally the present

charitable trust was formed, which works well. The Museum as it stands today is a monument to the whole of its founder's working life and ideas, in that it is a mirror to the day-to-day life of a typical moorland village as he has known it. By his enterprise he has extended the frontiers of his own time backwards into dimmer and dimmer past centuries, throwing light on aspects of history which do not find a place in other museums.

Holdings of the Knights Templar in North Yorkshire.

by J. McDonnell and G. E. Morris.

The lands

Ever since the early fourteenth century, when King Philip IV of France and Pope Clement V combined to suppress the order, the Poor Knights of the Temple of Solomon have had a bad press, compounded in more recent times by novelists like Sir Walter Scott. From the original nucleus of half a dozen ragged French knights, vowed to poverty and the protection of the Holy Places, they indeed soon ceased to be poor and, like other military orders of the age, waxed mighty in the councils and especially the counting-houses of Europe. Yet the evidence of heresy and corruption seems thin to modern eyes and was mostly localised and paltry in scale (1).

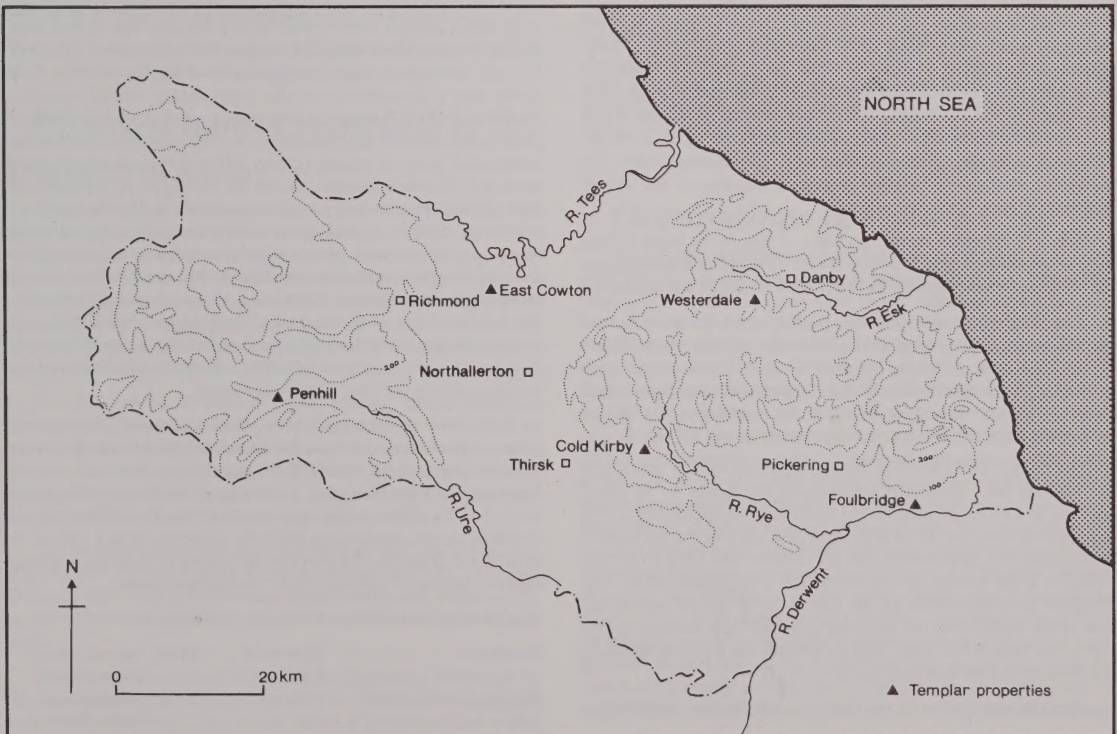
The policies of successive Masters of the order, from the foundation in 1118 until the suppression almost two hundred years later, aimed to create an elite fighting force in Palestine, to be financed by landed property in most of the regions of Christendom and recruited from the finest warriors available. Their constitution - largely drafted by St Bernard of Clairvaux for the Council of Troyes

in 1128 - was a neat adaption of St Bernard's own Cistercian rule. The front line fighters, the white cloaked knights, took modified vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, as did the second line sergeants, who wore brown habits like their Cistercian counterparts, the conversi. There was provision for temporary recruits, for example during a crusade, who took less binding oaths.

The order acquired properties almost everywhere in western Europe. Some were highly valuable, like Temple Ewell and the London property now occupied by the Inns of Court. Most often, however, they acquired modest gifts of land, from comparatively lowly feudal squires. These were grouped into provinces (of which England was one), and at a more local level, preceptories, administered by veteran knights. The major Yorkshire preceptories of Temple Newsam and Temple Hirst, founded early in the second half of the twelfth century, also administered scattered local holdings, as did Ribston between Harrogate and Wetherby, a later acquisition in 1217.

Templar holdings in the North Riding were all small-scale. The earliest in the mid twelfth century were granted by vassals of a group of magnates who had served alongside Templar troops in Palestine: Brus, Lac, Ros, Stuteville, and Mowbray. Most of these major lords had also been comrades in arms at the Battle of the Standard near Northallerton in 1138, and one Mowbray was particularly indebted to the Templars who had ransomed him after capture by the Saracens. It is noticeable that the major grants of land to Templars in the area relate closely to the peaks of crusading activity (Second Crusade, 1147-9; Fourth, 1204, especially).

The first wave of acquisitions in North Yorkshire comprised principally Penhill at the mouth of Wensleydale, and East Cowton in the Vale of Mowbray between Croft-on-Tees and Northallerton (see map). There were smaller grants at Linthorpe on the Tees, Hauxwell,



Drawn by Miranda Schofield

Stanghow, and elsewhere, and even smaller parcels, of between three and thirty acres, in manors like Helmsley, Scawton, Nunnington and Ampleforth. At about the same time, though there is no firm date for its acquisition, the Templars were also granted Cold Kirby on the Hambleton Hills, whose distinctive features will be discussed in the second part of this article.

The donors of all these lands were middle-ranking Norman landowners or sub-tenants, but the influence of the magnates mentioned above is typified in a grant by Roger de Mowbray (2) of timber from his forests of Nidderdale, Kirkby Malzeard, and Masham for the construction of preceptory 'houses at Penhill, Cowton and Stanghow.

The Penhill preceptory was founded about 1166. Remains are still visible at SE 036887. They stand at some 200 metres OD on the northfacing slope of Penhill itself. The property was also known in the medieval period as Temple Dowsker, a name relating to Dove Scar, the crag at the western end of Penhill. This is stock farming country not (or only minimally) arable land. The grant was of two carucates (3) all in demesne - that is, farmed by the Templars themselves, not leased out to tenants; unlike Cowton or Cold Kirby, no rent paying tenants are listed at Penhill so the labour force was evidently made up of landless herdsman. No valuation was laid on it, in 1185 or later, and it can never have contributed much to Templar funds. As a preceptory it would have supported one or two members of the order but unless - like Foulbridge later - it functioned as a hostel for travellers, it is difficult to see any particular economic advantage in the property. Stanghow (Cleveland) was another windswept upland estate, of one carucate all in demesne.

The East Cowton manor, with some overlap into South Cowton, was a more impressive holding. Six carucates (4) in extent, it was two thirds in demesne and one third in the hands of 12 tenants in East Cowton and six more in South Cowton. Only two of these tenants were bovine holders. The rest were cottagers or small holders occupying a toft and in some cases, a few acres; four of these were tradesmen - a mercer, a miller, a smith, and a cheese-monger. All owed small services: four boondays a year, 2 hens and 20 sheep. This was clearly a mixed arable/pastoral manor, and had an income of £74 a year at the suppression (5). This was equal to the valuation of the Templars' later acquisition at Wetherby, and exceeded only, in Yorkshire, by Temple Newsam with its dependencies and by the combined Ribston-Wetherby property.

The only thirteenth century additions of note in the North Riding were at Westerdale, near Castleton on the Esk, and at Foulbridge on the north bank of the Derwent between West Heslerton and Snainton.

The Westerdale property was probably not the main manor centred on the village of that name, but further up dale where Waites House farm now stands at NZ 653037 (6). It was a moorland settlement, presumably almost entirely pastoral, like Penhill and Stanghow, and brought in an income at the suppression of £37; just sufficiently important to have a resident preceptor in 1308 (7).

Foulbridge, where much of the late thirteenth century aisled hall has recently been identified and restored (8) stands, as its name implies, at a river crossing on the Derwent, but apparently a less important one than that at Yedingham, a mile and a half to the west. It too ranked as a preceptory, but its income was only £18. The valuation at the suppression, however, was a remarkable £254. The Templars were responsible for the upkeep of the bridge, and by the time of the suppression had evidently extended their interests in this part of the Vale of Pickering, with six bovates and a mill in Allerston and the right to hold their own courts there. (9)

After the suppression all the Templar properties discussed above,

together with Cold Kirby, passed to the Knights Hospitallers. This was a similar order founded in the Holy Land at the same period as the Templars. Its development had been less aggressively directed at the heights of international finance and political power, and it was never to incur the same degree of odium and envy as the latter. In the fourteenth century, with all the ordeals of famine, murrain, and plague that it brought, many of the North Riding properties were downgraded and administered by a lay bailiff under the control of the preceptories (or commanderies) of Holy Trinity at Beverley (Foulbridge, Westerdale), and Mount St John at Felixkirk (Cowton, Penhill and presumably, Cold Kirby). Penhill was recorded as ruinous as early as 1328.

The Templar Manor of Cold Kirby in the Twelfth Century

Cold Kirby, SE 533845, only acquired its distinguishing epithet in comparatively recent times, but it is well merited. Standing some 240 metres above sea level on the wind swept Hambleton plateau, the village disdains to shelter in any of the nearby hollows because it is in them that the best agricultural land is found. There is in fact a respectable proportion of reasonably good arable in the parish with some depth of loam over limestone (10). When the researchers for the 'Victoria County History' studied the parish just before the first world war, nearly 700 of its 1620 acres were under the plough. It is a proportion not too dissimilar from the six carucates granted to the Templars around 1167 AD.

Though never a full blown preceptory of the Knights, the manor offers us a rare glimpse into the way of life of one upland community in the century following the Conquest and the Harrying of the North. All or nearly all waste in 1086 (11), it is revealed by the Templar inquest of 1185 (12) exactly a century later as a compact community of 31 tenant farmers, with several striking features. The modest rents paid by the tenants provided £5.0.8 a year for the Templars, though of this sum 16 shillings had to be passed on to the Crown since Cold Kirby was a dependency of the royal manor of Easingwold. Transferred to the Templars some twenty years earlier by Richard Croer, a sub tenant of the Stutevilles, the 1185 inquest reveals a semi-independent group of peasant farmers, owing no servile or customary services to their new masters save for the obligation to surrender one third of their chattels when a head of household died. (The other two thirds were divided, as usual, between widow and children). The rents they paid were as low as on any Templar property in Yorkshire (13), and considerably less than at, say, Temple Newsam or East Cowton. Moreover the men of Cold Kirby had a marked degree of autonomy. The inquest refers to them as 'men' (*homines*) not as serfs, and a clause appended to the description of their holding makes it clear that they broadly administered their own affairs; however a Templar steward probably presided at the manor court.

Even more illuminating than the details of tenant holdings and rents are the names of the tenants themselves. Here is the list as set down in the inquest. It will be noted that the total of rents is fractionally less than that given in the *summa* at the end of the entry, of £5.0.8. The area rented to tenants, officially four out of six carucates, in fact amounted to some 5½ carucates, with a further 30 acres to add. It can also be seen that the process of 'assarting' - adding intake to the core of common fields - had already begun.

'Apud Kereby ex dono Ricardi Croer vj carrucate'			
Theodricus	10 bovates	6s 8d	'pro omni servicio'
	2 assarts	-	'pro nullo servicio'
William son of Everard	1 bov.	1s 8d	'pro omni servicio'
			(and so all down list)

Hugh son of Ramkel	1 bov.	1s 8s
Ralph son of Tankard	2 bov.	3s 4d
Hugh Brun	1 bov.	1s 8d
Walter son of Lieceline	1 bov.	1s 8d
Richard son of Etred	1 bov.	1s 8d
Lude	1 bov.	1s 8d
William son . . .	2 bov.	3s 4d
Vitting son of Grimkel	1 bov.	1s 8d
Gilbert son of Arkel	1 bov.	
	1 toft	2s 2d
Gamel son of Hucca	1 bov.	1s 8d
Waltheof son of Hucce	1 bov.	1s 8d
William son of Cospatric	2 bov.	3s 4d
Gamel son of Higmund	1 bov.	1s 8d
Gamel son of Arkil	1 bov.	1s 8d
Hugh son of Philip	½ carucate	
	30 acres	1s 4d
Cospatric son of Gilbert	1 bov.	1s 8d
Robert son of Hautolf	2 bov.	3s 4d
Alan son of Waltheof	2 bov.	3s 4d
Hugh son of William	5 bov.	8s 4d
William son of Ede	2 bov.	3s 4d
Reinald son of Baldwin	2 bov.	3s 4d
Gamel son of Gille	3 acres	1s 4d
Robert son of Ouca	3 acres	1s 3d
Wluuie	3 acres	1s 4d
(Item) Teodricus	3 acres	1s 3d
Warinus	3 acres	1s 3d
Gille	1 toft	8d
Turstan	3 acres	3s 4d
Ranulf	1 toft	8d

(quis habet in custodia
cum Eda filia nepotis sua)

30 acres are in demesne...

Summa de Kerebi. 100s 8d unde debent reddi 16s domino Regi.

A notable mixture of ethnic origins is implied in the tenants' names. Mr G.E. Morris contributes the following commentary (14).

Personal names recorded in the Inquest of 1185

The names listed are those of persons (not all men) holding land for which they pay money rents in the village of Cold Kirby. An examination of these names suggests the linguistic origin of the families as well as something of their social values and perhaps even political interests. Some 54 persons are named (allowing for the possibility that the name of an individual may be repeated), and the recorded forms of the names show them to have been affected by local pronunciation and scribal difficulties.

The list can be divided into two groups: names recorded elsewhere before the Conquest, and those recorded only after it. Twenty four names are on record before 1066, and 30 after: a fairly even balance. Both pre-Conquest and post-Conquest names may be found in the same family but the pre-Conquest names are commonest among parents, and post-Conquest names among children.

The pre-Conquest names may be further divided into those from Old English (12) and those from Scandinavian (10), with two ultimately from Gaelic. Three Scandinavian names end in *-kel* or *-kil*, not the older form *-ketil*. This later form is also found in Domesday Book.

The two names of Gaelic origin - *Gille*, *Cospatric* - introduced by Hiberno-Scandinavian settlers (as also the Old English *Waltheof*) have a political interest. They are the names of prominent landowners

before the Conquest, and their use here suggests the survival of old loyalties.

Traditions are shown to be weakening. Six fathers had Scandinavian names, but only two of their sons had. One, *Grimkel*, had a son called *Uting* from Old English, *Uta*. Of the cases where no relative is named, two of the eight are clearly Scandinavian. *Ouca* father of Robert, is of doubtful origin but may represent old Scandinavian *Audkel*.

Of the twelve Old English names two are repeated and may refer to the same individual. There are four instances of two-syllable names: *Ehred* (Old English *Eadred*), *Waltheof* (probably Old English, but could be Scandinavian), and the unusual *Higmund*:

Few parents with OE names christened their children similarly. Three sons had Scandinavian names and five had post-Conquest names. In all 30 post-Conquest names are found, and reflect names common among post-Conquest landowners. Several of these later names have puzzling implications. *Theodricus*, a name introduced by the Normans held land in his own right, and also on behalf of *Eda*, daughter of his *nepos* (See below for further discussion). *Everard* (*us*), with a son *William*, is a name which recurs in the same Inquest for the neighbouring village of Ampleforth, where Everard is identified as *presbiter* or priest, with William de Surdeval as his overlord. Did the priest of Ampleforth hold land in Cold Kirby, and was there then a church there? (The name, *Kirby* is derived from a Scandinavian personal name, *Kaeri*, and does not suppose a church). *Liecelina*, more usually written *Lecelina*, is a continental name introduced by the Normans; probably a diminutive form of Elizabeth.

The whole list thus examined suggests a conservative Anglo-Saxon community slowly changing under the pressure of fashion and 'off comers'. Some names still retain the old values - Gamel Arkilson, Gamel Gilleson - but most have changed. The lack of occupational additions to personal names is in sharp contrast to the contemporary list for East Cowton, where there were a miller, a smith, a widow, a cheesemaker and even a mercer. Cold Kirby seems to have been a sober village of largely free smallholders or *bondi* (not the servile Anglo-Saxon sort), rendering services in the form of money rent for the use of their land. But it was slowly losing its past identity.

G. E. Morris.

Occupations in Cold Kirby

What further inference can we draw from the Cold Kirby rent roll? The list shows three main categories of occupant. Three men farm half a carucate or more each; twenty hold one or two bovates; eight have only a toft (house plot and garden) or a three acre smallholding. The class distinctions here may be less wide than they appear at first sight. Some of the third group would be specialists - herdsman, hayward, perhaps a blacksmith - and others doubtless worked part or full time for wealthier neighbours. Theodric appears as a patriarchal figure: elderly: (he has a great niece), placed first in the list, and besides the tenancy of the largest allocation of field strips he has two assarts for which he pays nothing and owes no service - the nucleus perhaps of a freehold estate. The next largest landowner, Hugh son of Philip, is also an intriguing case. 'Philip' is extremely rare as a peasant name, and Hugh only pays a token rent for his half carucate and 30 acres; it may well be that he is the Templars' steward or bailiff. The majority of bovat holders would have proportionate grazing rights in the waste for their livestock, and combine their oxen for ploughing; it is questionable whether on the comparatively light and well drained soil of the Hambletons they as yet used eight-ox teams and a heavy plough. Given the altitude and the dearth of regular water supplies, the principal crop must have been oats, spring

sown, and harvested as late as the short growing season allowed.

The question remains of how this community survived, or was resuscitated after the Harrying of the North. Were the peasant farmers of Kirby a random collection of flotsam who had drifted together to revive the wasted village and its fields? Their mixed ethnic roots may seem to support such a scenario. On the other hand a theory has been propounded (15) in an effort to explain certain anomalies in the Domesday record for Yorkshire: that the new Norman landowners, entering upon a ravaged wilderness, set about gathering together the survivors and settling them in those villas and manors which could most easily be restored to productivity. Such a 'plantation' could well have occurred in the generations between 1086 and 1185. But would a site like Cold Kirby be likely to qualify for landlord directed resettlement? There should have been plenty of lowland villas on richer soil still available for the purpose.

Another alternative explanation may lie in a phenomenon as yet little understood or studied, but which seems to have been fairly common in northern England; it has parallels in 'frontier' settlements on the Continent, including new villages carved out of waste and forests in France, Saxony and elsewhere (16). In such cases peasants were not obligatorily settled, but were offered favourable terms of status and payment in return for colonizing underdeveloped or hazardous areas. Such an arrangement could well explain the comparative independence of tenants in Kirby in 1185.

A large degree of autonomy is likewise a feature of another small Templar manor not far away; at Sowerby (Thirsk)-another detached dependency of Easingwold, like Kirby - there were also homines working a more fertile lowland villa; and there, instead of paying rents, they rendered a communal sum of £10 a year 'pro omni servicio'.

It should be noted that both Kirby and Sowerby conform in layout to what B.K. Roberts defines as 'regular two-row street green plans'(17), and are therefore likely to have been planned as settlements rather than to have grown organically; it follows that the overlords probably had some influence in the re-establishment of the community in both cases. But once the settlers had been allotted their house plots and supplied with the materials to build their cots, they seem to have been left changely to their own devices. It is an interesting sidelight on the shrewdness of the planners that the number of households occupying Cold Kirby in 1185 is very close to the number of house plots recorded 700 years later on the Tithe Map (reproduced in outline by Dr Roberts). While there were doubtless variations in prosperity and population in the intervening centuries, the twelfth century supervisors assessed with impressive accuracy the numbers the settlement could expect to support.

The question of the number and variety of pioneering settlements in Yorkshire and the Borders is one that still awaits systematic attention. Locally, other examples can be identified in the dales of the North York Moors. Assarting hamlets were established in Bilsdale in the thirteenth century (18). Probably much older, but only emerging into the light of documented history at about the same time, there is the case of the tenants of Bransdale and Farndale (19). By the mid thirteenth century these men were ranked as serfs - nativi, but they held by plots - placeas, or by acres, not by bovates, and there is no evidence of any overseers. The term placea implies a ring fenced farm, as opposed to strips in a common field. It is indeed quite possible that the present day dale farms in the area may preserve a pattern of holdings which goes back well before the Norman Conquest.

Notes.

1. D. Seward. 'The Monks of War', 1974, pp 197-213.

2. B. Lees, 'Records of the Templars in England', Oxford University Press, 1935, p. 269. *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, viii, p. 273
3. Notionally the area which could be worked by one full ploughteam in a year, the carucate, was a fiscal entity, not a measured area. Usually it averaged 120 acres but could be more or much less.
4. 'Victoria County History, North Riding', I, p 161, gives the area as six bovates only, but Lees, op.cit., is clear that the grant was for six carucates.
5. D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, 'Medieval Religious Houses in England and Wales'. 1953, p. 234.
6. 'Victoria County History NR', II, p.414, note.
7. Ibid., II, p. 415, Knowles & Hadcock, op.cit., p. 234.
8. Houses of the North York Moors', HMSO, 1987, pp. 15-17.
9. 'Victoria County History, NR', II, p. 413, pp 427-8: Knowles & Hadcock, op cit., p. 234.
10. Ordnance Survey, 'Soil Survey of England and Wales' sheet 58 (Riveaulx): Geological Survey one -inch sheet, 52 (Thirsk).
11. 'Victoria County History, Yorkshire', II, p. 195.
12. Lees, op. cit., pp. 129 - 30.
13. Miss Lees, however, (op. cit., Intr. p. cxii). draws attention to the fact that Yorkshire bovates could be very small, as low as five acres. The bovat, or oxgang (cf note 3 above) was one eighth of a carucate
14. English Place Names Society: A. H. Smith 'North Riding of Yorkshire', 1928; 'East Riding of Yorkshire', 1937; 'Cumberland', III, 1952. J. Insley, 'Some Aspects... in Early Middle English Nomenclature', Leeds Studies in English, 1987. I am much indebted to Dr G. Fellows-Jensen of the University of Copenhagen for her comments on an early draft of this note, and solutions to various problems, such as the baffling Wluuie.
15. T. A. M. Bishop, 'The Norman Settlement of Yorkshire', *Essays in Economic History*, ed. E. M. Carus-Wilson, 1962, pp. 7-9.
16. J. McDonnell, 'Antecedents of Border Tenant Right', *Northern History*, forthcoming.
17. B.K. Roberts, 'The Making of the English Village', Longman Scientific, 1987, p. 34.
18. J. McDonnell, 'Medieval Assarting Hamlets in Bilsdale', *Northern History*, XXII, 1986, pp.269-79.
19. 'Yorkshire Inquisitions I', Yorks. Arch. Soc. Record Series, XII, 1892, pp. 167-8, 246-51.

Documents of the Weighell Family at the Ryedale Folk Museum By E. Blizzard.

The Weighells were an old well known farming family, and there is a collection of farming valuation and reminder diaries, and account books of members of three generations in the Ryedale Folk Museum at Hutton le Hole. They belonged to Harrison Weighell (1843-1929); his son, Thomas Harrison Weighell (1869-1943); and his grandson, another Harrison Weighell (1909 - 1972). All three were descended from John Weighell (1735-1817) who had eight children, and lived at Scugdale in the parish of Whorlton.

When Harrison Weighell was born in 1843 his family was living at Stork House, Bransdale West, where they remained for at least the next twenty years. But by the time of the 1871 census they had moved away and Harrison, now married with a son, Thomas Harrison, aged two, was living in Rosedale West Side. He had two servants and farmed 50 acres.

At the next census in 1881, Harrison and his wife, Hannah, had three children and were living in Spaunton. Harrison was now described as 'a farmer of 104 acres employing two men, and a Wesley local preacher'. He lived on until 1929 when he died at the age of 96.

His eldest son, Thomas Harrison, continued to live at Spaunton. He farmed there and at Appleton le Moors. The youngest of his three children was another Harrison, born in 1909. He followed his father and grandfather as a farmer and valuer. He lived in Appleton until his death in 1972.

I have only used diaries between 1893 and 1918, account books for various years between 1902 and 1927, and valuation diaries between 1884 and 1906. The first two diaries were kept by the first Harrison Weighell; the other two by his son, Thomas Harrison Weighell. A letter from Thomas to a Mr Kneeshaw, dated 23 January 1903 states that he has had a Valuer's licence for three years and before that had twenty years' experience working with his father.

Most of the farms valued were in Rosedale, Bransdale and Farndale and in nearby villages; - Lastingham, Cropton, Appleton le Moors. Some were further afield; in the Marishes, at Gilling, Pickering, Normanby, Swinton, West Lutton, and even York.

The number of farms changing hands was considerable;-

43 farms between 1884 and 1890

43 farms between 1890 and 1893

50 farms between 1901 and 1903

The valuations followed a standard pattern. The outgoing man received payment for improvement to buildings; stocks of hay and straw; farm yard manure; clover and grass seed sown the previous year; cultivations and 'away going crops' such as unharvested corn and residual values of lime and fertilizer. Moor sheep stayed on the farm. In the early valuations, and especially on small farms, hen manure, ashes, garden digging and manuring, even sheep clots, were all valued. In some cases the field names were given with their crops and acreages, various fixtures in the house; barns and sheds in the yards; berry bushes; rhubarb; and fruit trees in the garden, together with troughs, turves, bee stands, saw pits, grindstones etc. - all were separately assessed as to their value.

Delapidations were also calculated and deducted. If it was a valuation for probate the details were comprehensive; including listing all the stock, giving ages of the horses, and listing the furniture in the house. The amount of rent and rates paid and the tithe charge were also sometimes given. For instance in 1892, at Hollins Farm, Rosedale West, the rent was £60 for 81 acres, rates £5 at 1/4 per acre, tithe £4 at 1 shilling an acre.

Beck House, Cropton; Valued 16 October 1891

For the Executors of the late Mr Harrison Fewester; 395 acres. 7 Horses and 7 young horses;- £260. 38 heifers and cows;- £309. 434 sheep, 4 tups; £376. 19 pigs;- £ 19.4.0. 100 poultry;- £5. 26 acres swedes;- £52. Crops in the named fields;- £ 285.10.0. Hay and straw;- £10.

The contents of the house room by room give a glimpse of how they were arranged to accommodate the family and its servants. Attic, back bedroom, men's bedroom (3 stump bedsteads and clothes, complete), back bedroom number 2, best bedroom, second bedroom (four poster bedstead).

Best room (Side board, center (sic) table, 6 hair seated chairs, Fender and fire irons, Small table, Couch, easy Chair in leather, Decanters)

Entrance, (bookcase). Sitting room, (Dining table, Sofa, American Clock, 6 chairs in leather, Arm Chair, Easy Chair,

Pictures, Fender and fire irons, Mantle Shelf, Ornaments)

The Dairy, larder, back kitchen, front kitchen all had the usual milk pails, churns, tables, pans etc. It is interesting there was no mention of an oven or range, copper or slop stone.

There was a list of Rent, Rates, Wages and Tradesmen's bills. Hannah Dowson was the Housekeeper (was Mr Fewester a widower or unmarried?). Ralf Denney, Waggoner; Jackson Walker, second Waggoner; John Fletcher, lad; a servant girl (not named); 9 men and boys were employed part time at Harvest: they were as follows; Mr Pickering, Cropton; Mr William Pierson, Cropton; Joseph Keath; Mr Stephenson, Hartoft; Mr Pierson's Boy; Mr Stephenson's Boy; Mr Richmon; Mr William Parker; Luke Parker. It is interesting that some are called Mr and some not.

In April 1890 the valuation of Normanby Hill Farm mentioned a bathroom (surely one of the first in the neighbourhood). It contained a metal bath, a bath pump, and 38 feet of 2 in. lead piping. There was an attic with a bacon closet, a blacksmith's shop, and a Hind's cottage that only had two rooms and a pantry.

Low House Farm at Kirkbymoorside had an apricot tree in the garden. I wonder whether it ever fruited?

In 1905 when the Revd. Weston (the historian) came to Lastingham as the new incumbent, the Vicarage and its contents were valued. The house then contained a drawing room, dining room, study, hall, Guild room, kitchen, landing, and five bedrooms.

In the back of the book for 1901 are details of how to measure a round haystack, and random notes about what other valuers allowed - more than one valuer was employed in some instances. A cartload of manure was worth 4/-; tiles, £3.10.0 per thousand; artesian wells so much a foot, and double every 10 feet. The charge for a valuation varied according to the size of farm - from a guinea up to five guineas for larger farms, with stamp and writing added. Most of the farms valued were small to modest in size.

Farming Diaries

The farming diaries kept by Thomas Harrison Weighell usually had four entries to a page, the writing close and the entries abbreviated. As the men lived in, the day began with the time they had breakfast and finished with supper; in January 1904 breakfast was at 7 a.m. and supper at 6 p.m. In summer the men had breakfast at 6.10 a.m. and in harvest time supper was not until 8.30 or 9p.m. - a very long day. The weather is always mentioned - 1917 was a bad spring with snow and frosts from 2 April right through until the end of the month; 'have never seen anything like it for time of year'.

The diary reminds us how long it took to cultivate the land in those days: in one year a note, 'ploughing far 12 acres' begins on 15th January and takes nine days. In one year harvesting began on 23 August and was not over until 24th September. Many different activities are recorded; turnip hoeing, thistle mowing, cutting bracken on Appleton Common, lambing (the death rate among lambs after tail docking seems high), animals bought and sold, Prices and numbers are carefully written down; prices for stock, wool and produce; the number of pigs pigged, and calves due to be born. The cows are not named but described by colour, or even by their position in the cow house.

There are few personal details in the diaries but one entry in February 1904 reads; 'Esther' (his wife) had all her teeth Drawn was put under Heater (ether) and Choloroform'. Poor Esther was toothless until November. On 15 February 'Sophia Dalton began work again after being very poorly, pneumonial. Serious illness struck again in June; 'Esther and MF had in diptheria' - no further mention until 6 July, 'Nurse Chapman went away'.

On 4 June 1912 Thomas filled up his returns; 'Had 7 horses, 2 Ponys, 6 Cows, 2 Heffiers, Bull, 5 other and 15 other, 171 old sheep, 208 lambs'.

The 14 - 18 War seems to have had little impact on daily life. In August 1914 there is no mention of the declaration of war, only the odd laconic entry; 'July 25 W. Hornby to camp tonight, He has had 4 nights of (f) to drill'. 'Aug 6 Sold Light Cart Horse (to the) Captain for the Army work, delivered Him Pickering.'. 'Aug 28 Harry Barker Waggoner left. He would not work anymore has (as) He had enlisted in the Royal Artillery to go on Sep 1st. He ought to have worked till Saturday night'.

Account Books

These show that hiring was done on a yearly basis at Martinmas 23 November, though men were also employed by the day. Hirings sometimes occurred during the year but the term always ended at Martinmas. The duties are listed, and whether extra would be paid for Saturday work. Most men worked at harvest for a fixed sum. The books show how wages rose. In 1908 W Thompson was paid as foreman £24.0.0 a year. In 1923 the foreman got 21/6 a week, plus 3/- for Saturdays and extra for harvest.

The men did not necessarily move on every year but there was a whole procession of hired girls - Florence Dalton, Nellie Ford, Anne Elizabeth Peirson, Alice Parker. . . In 1906 Rose Dowson got £17.0.0 for the year with the proviso; 'to be allowed to leave if she could get to be a dressmaker'. In 1922 against the name of the lad, Harold Middleton, who got £16.0.0 for the twelvemonth is the note, 'ran away twice'.

On 23 February 1920 Thomas recorded 'Hired a man to drive Tractor and do any kind farm work from March 1 1920 at 30/- a week' He already had a motor car; acquired in 1919. Its licence cost £6.6.0 compared to one for a dogcart which was still only 15/-.

The account books show that shopping was mainly done in Lastingham and Kirkbymoorside. In the book for 1906 - 10 the shop at Lastingham was kept by Robert Harland. J. M. Hoggart was the grocer in the Market Place at Kirkbymoorside. Their bills, which occur several times a month, were never more than £1; few exceeded 10/-.

Items bought included;-

Pair of gloves for self	2/6
Trap candles	6d
Lamp wick	2d
Colza oil, half gallon	1/9
Miss Chapman for dressmaking	14/3
Carriage of sheep to Malton	6/6
One gallon ale	1/8
4lb white paint	1/2
14lb drab paint	6/-
Flower seed	7d
Spade	3/-
Mr Featherstone for ½ year seat rent at Chapel	5/-
Dog Collors and names	3/6

The price of eggs remained constant at 1/-; the number varied from 9 for 1/- in January, to 18 for 1/- in April, peak laying time, Eggs were also put down in waterglass when plentiful and sold at a cheaper rate than fresh eggs when the latter were scarce in winter time.

The Parish Meeting

A small red notebook contains the minutes of Spaunton Parish Meeting from 1891 to 1899 - only ratepayers attended. They were held in the New Inn and list who was present (usually John Flintoft,

Henry Hobbs, Moses Hobbs, Moses Helm, John Trousdale and Thomas Harrison Weighell). Among items considered were ' the laying of a Rate to meet Expenses', and the appointment of an assistant overseer. In 1894 while Mr J Stricklan (d) remained as a waywarden, Mr Thomas Harrison Weighell was nominated as 'District Counsellour for Spaunton'.

I have kept to the more domestic side of the accounts and diaries as the farm accounts are very detailed, and I have not felt competent to comment on them. Every penny spent was accounted for, as an entry for 1d for a pail shows. Likewise all money received was noted down even for mushrooms sold from the fields.

As the 1920s car and tractor show, the Weighells were progressive in their outlook, and prosperous. No doubt their profession as valuers contributed more than a little to this, as did their habit in the early days of doing work for others, such as hiring out horses and waggons. The books can scarcely tell us how much interest was taken in national affairs, although a newspaper was bought whenever someone went to Kirkbymoorside. There is no record of money spent on visiting away from the district: life it seems was lived within the family, farm and village.

The author would like to thank the Ryedale Folk Museum for permission to consult the diaries and account books; Mr Robin Weighell of Gillamoor for the loan of his family tree; and Mr Malcolm Leckenby of Ankness Farm, Bransdale for his help.

A Look at Old Byland Church

By Cyril King

It is generally thought that there is no evidence of a stone built pre-Conquest church at Old Byland. Perhaps this is largely due to the wooden church of Domesday. (1) Be that as is may, there are certain features of the present church which seem to indicate that there was such a church, and moreover, that a fairly substantial part of it remains embedded in the present structure.

A remarkable feature of the church is the very eccentric chancel. Now it is inconceivable that an eccentric chancel with its unfortunate side effects would have been so built in the first instance and one can only think in terms of an original concentric chancel. (2).

For a long time I had the feeling that the key to the existence of a pre-Conquest church lay in the present chancel arch, but the secret had eluded me until recently when all became clear. In order to understand this one must consider the undesirable effects produced by the positioning of the chancel arch when viewed from the east - that is, from the chancel - the chancel arch and the east window appear incongruously jammed against the south wall of the chancel, but from the west - or standing in the nave - everything is normal, the chancel arch centrally situated and framing the high altar with the east window behind. It is the position of the chancel arch - viewed from the chancel - jammed against the south wall which provides the all important clue. Now as we shall see, there is evidence to show that the south chancel wall has never at any time been altered since it was first built in early Norman times, the southern responds were jammed against that wall as they appear today, and for this to have happened shows that the chancel must have been an eccentric one even in those early days. But how did this come about?

One can only think of a Saxon church which must have stood upon the site and from which the present structure was derived. Such a church was suggested by H.C.D. Cooper in his 'Notes on Old Byland Church'. (3).

'The neighbourhood was devastated by William the Conqueror so that when Domesday was compiled, out of all the parishes around,

Scawton, Murton, Daletown and Hawby, only a part of Old Byland was being cultivated. It possessed a wooden church and a priest. The site of this settlement was probably in the Rye valley nearly opposite Rievaulx, for in 1143 the natives were turned out by a band of wandering monks who had been given the parish in which to settle by Roger de Mowbray.

The displaced persons built anew at a spot called Stutekelde, no doubt the present village, for they changed its name to Byland. Having a name already it is more than likely that the site was an abandoned village that included the remains of a church, and that it was upon existing very irregular foundations that the monks immediately erected the nave of the present church'.

These remains seem to have been very much more substantial than Mr Cooper suggests. At the time of Domesday it was probably a disused church in need of repair, no doubt the roof had fallen in, but certainly not requiring to be rebuilt from the foundations. Because the church was in disuse and in a ruinous condition it would not be listed in Domesday; what was listed was the wooden church nearby in current use at that time.

Now it would seem that soon after Domesday the wooden church caught fire and was destroyed, or perhaps had fallen into disrepair, but whatever the reason it was abandoned and the repair of the old Saxon church was begun in order to provide a permanent and more durable structure.

During the restoration of the Saxon church it might have been found that the south wall of the nave was in such a bad state that it would need completely rebuilding while the neighbouring walls were reasonably sound. This major repair was done, as was the custom, by building the new wall outside of, but close to, the existing one after which the old Saxon wall was taken down and a new roof erected. This would immediately throw the chancel off centre with the resulting displacement of the chancel arch. How else could an eccentric arch be explained except by the restoration of a pre-conquest church? The eccentricity of course was 'one sided' but so it remained for some four centuries until the north chancel wall was renewed during the 15th century in the same way as was the south nave wall. This of course made the eccentricity more pronounced but restored the symmetry as it appears today. A careful study of Mr Cooper's plan indicates that the Saxon church was in all probability a single cell structure with perhaps a wooden chancel arch, or even just a screen dividing the chancel from the nave. (4).

During the restoration of the Saxon church the south chancel wall was not disturbed and it is here, on this wall, where the only visual evidence of anything Saxon appears in the present structure. It is to be seen over the Tudor arch of the blocked priest's door where there are stones forming a narrow, but very primitive Romanesque arch. This fragment is surely a surviving detail of that pre-Conquest church. Mr Pattison of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments

disagrees and says that it is a 'relieving arch' inserted because of the 'broken' arch.

'The blocked priest's door in the south wall of the chancel has a four centred head cut out of two stones and so is late 15th or early 16th century. As it is not a true arch the weight of the stones above would cause it to distort unless there were some means of spreading the load. For this reason there is a relieving arch above the head. I do not see the radiating stones above the doorway forming the arch as a blocked Saxon doorway'.

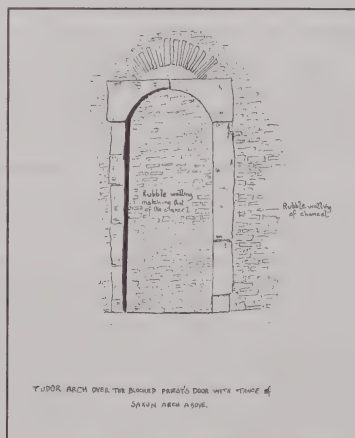
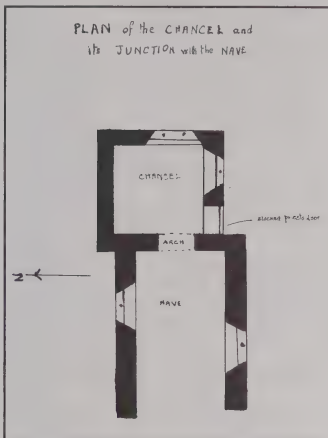
In my opinion there is far too much against accepting this point of view: for one thing it is impossible to associate such a primitive arch with the Tudor period - or later. I would draw attention to the much wider south entrance at Oswaldkirk. Here there is an identical arch but no relieving arch and no distortion despite the arch having been in place for some five hundred years. Most of the Victorian - and indeed later - authors refer to those stones over the blocked priest's door as the remains of an ancient circular headed doorway.

Mr Cooper continues:- 'The chancel arches of Byland stand on plain (probably restored) imposts with simple roll mouldings and corner shafts having human headed capitals with rams' horns of primitive Norman type. The south porch has arch and capitals of identical type, but the later are further embellished with a pair of winged horses flanked by what is sometimes called star motif characteristic of early Norman work. . . Although the porch itself is probably of 18th century erection, since a tombstone of the preceding one is said to be incorporated in it, it is reasonable to suppose that at the same time the old Norman south doorway was taken out and its elements re-used in a novel manner with the carved imposts used as quoins instead of supports for the arch, which was also re-used'.

All this suggests an early Norman restoration of the Saxon nave which is not easy to relate with a Norman nave built in 1143, or soon after, which Mr Cooper would have us believe. The early Norman features referred to were characteristic of a period at least half a century before the wandering monks arrived in the area.

I am of the opinion that the Byland monks took no part in the building (or restoration) of the church. It seems to me that the disused stone church was restored soon after Domesday. It would thereafter have taken the place of the near-by wooden church which itself may have been no longer usable. Hence the restoration of a more permanent stone built church.

This view would resolve a lot of difficulties including those early Norman fragments. It would have been the present church to which the Latin narrative of Philip, third Abbot of Byland referred when it was written that the monks were granted 'the vill and church of Byland'.



Notes.

1. 'M(anor) in Begeland (Old Byland) . . . A priest is there and a wooden church . . .' From Domesday, V. C. H. III257.

2. One many occasionally come across a 'nodding' chancel or a 'weeping' chancel so built by design but I have never heard of an eccentric chancel so built.

3. H. D. C. Cooper. B. Arch., A. R. I. B. A. Author of 'Notes on Old Byland Church'. n. d.

4. There are indeed ancient churches of single cell structure including at least one in Ryedale.

Rosedale Past. John Spencley, Master Builder, By Bert Frank.

Some time ago I was given some old account books by Mrs Appleton, one time resident of Rosedale: they had belonged to her great grandfather, John Spencley, who was a master builder and stone mason.

He was born in 1836 at Thorgill. Arthur Fletcher who knew him well, described him as being tall and well built, and highly regarded by all who knew him. He was related to the family who ran the Rosedale Abbey village shop.

The account books begin in the year 1869 and end in 1885. It was during this time that the ironstone mines reached their greatest production. In 1869 269, 595 tons were mined, increasing each year until 1873 when they achieved a maximum of 560, 668 tons. The population also increased; from 558 in 1851 to 2839 in 1871. After that both population and tonnage decreased, until in 1881 only 6079 tons of ironstone were produced. (1.) The population of the valley also dropped until, at the 1971 census, only 225 people were recorded.

These account books show how a small rural valley, almost surrounded by moorland, was rapidly being converted into a modern industrial complex. Had the high quality ironstone been there in sufficient quantity there is little doubt that in our day the whole of this beautiful dale would have been covered in concrete. We can be thankful that it has been spared this fate.

In the 1870s John Spencley and his men built nine rows of cottages for the miners, and three rows of earth closets (these appear in the account book as 'Petties'); a hospital; and cells for the police station at Rosedale Abbey.

In July 1874 Mr Spencley built J. Shepherd a house in five days using 11 men. The material was local stone that they cut and dressed themselves. The accounts record a wide variety of smaller jobs; they repaired the village shop; built a stable for the doctor; drilled holes (probably for blasting); set fireplaces and chimney pots; flagged floors, fixed steps, tiled pigstyes; took down old farm buildings, and in 1874 repaired East Side Primitive Methodist Church for £2.8.6.

The cost of material was noted. Chimney ashlar at 3d; mouldings, 40 at 3d; flange 11/4; chamfer, 31 feet at 1/1; and provisions; whiskey, 6/- (a bottle?), beer, 15/-; jin (sic) 2/3; candles, 1/8.

John Spencley used a simple device to record the hours worked. According to Mr Len Frank of Hutton le Hole, who was many years in the building trade the signs are as follows:- ☐ = a full day's work; ☐ = 3/4 day; ☐ = 1/2 day at morning; ☐ = 1/2 day afternoon.

Among random notes in one book are, 1877 Mrs Spencley delivered of A Son Nov 21st at 8a.m.'Commenced for J Wardle Ap.

John Spencley's Work Sheet

	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	M	T	W	T
Dec 19	Engin bed						work time					
Self	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>			<input type="checkbox"/>						
Harland	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>			<input type="checkbox"/>						
Frank	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>			L						
Horton	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>									
Petch	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>									
Atkinson	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>									
Chimney shaft on the moor												
Self				<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		
Harland				<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		
Frank				<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		
Horton				<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>			<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		
Petch			<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		
Atkinson			<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		

10th. Brick House at Hutton.' 1880 May 26th. Commenced Northdale Mill Dam'. ' 1885, May 5th Vault for Frank Farrow Child'.

John Spencley died at Thorgill in 1912 aged 76.

1. R.H. Hayes and J.G. Rutter, 'The Rosedale Iron Industry and Railway'. Transactions, Vol. 2, No. 11, 1968.Scarborough Archaeological Society.

Editor's Note. The Account books are now in the Ryedale Folk Museum at Hutton le Hole.

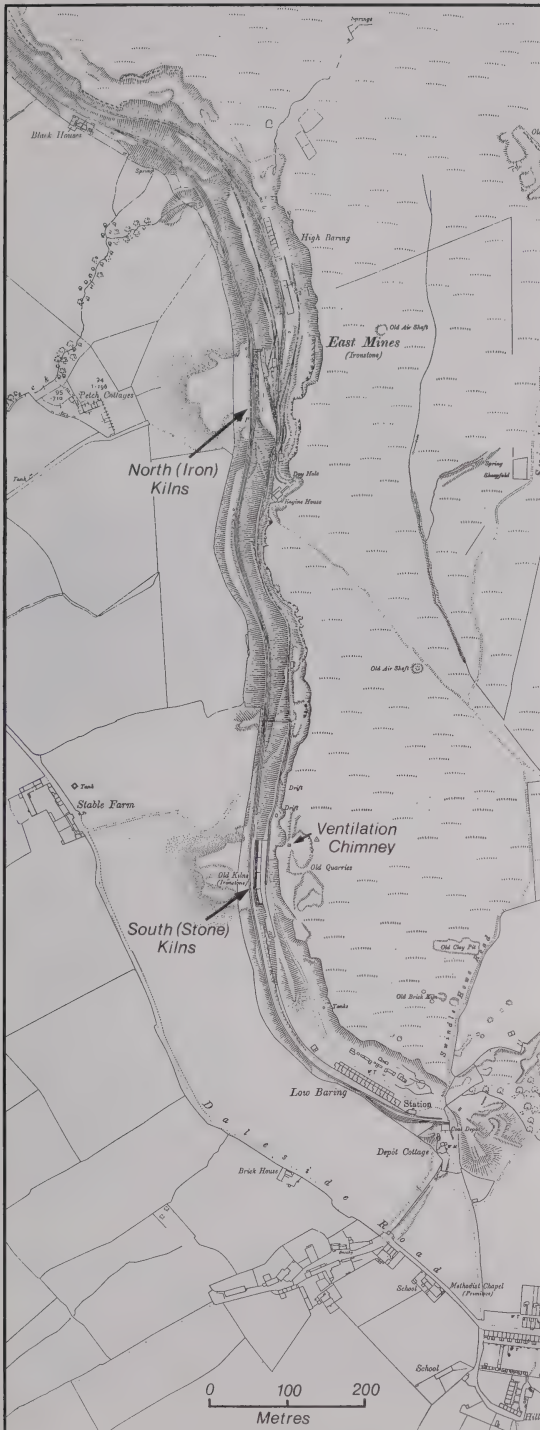
Rosedale Present Rosedale Ironstone Industry: Conservation Project By Graham Lee,

Archaeological Conservation Officer, North York Moors National Park

The purpose of this short paper is to provide a progress report on the above project after the introduction which was provided in the last copy of the Ryedale Historian (Volume 16). This is only intended as a brief summary. A fuller account will be published elsewhere in due course.

There is no space to go into details of the history and development of the industry here but I would refer those interested to the books by Hayes, and by Hayes and Rutter. I should, however, reiterate that the priorities for conservation had been determined as the three scheduled ancient monuments - two sets of calcining kilns and a mine ventilation chimney - at the East Mines complex in Rosedale (Figure 1). Since the sets of kilns were too extensive to be fully conserved the project has focused on representative elements. In both cases this has proved to be the northern-most kiln unit.

Work on the project commenced on site in October 1991, on the North (Iron) Kilns (SE 7054 9882). This particular monument was awarded the highest priority for conservation since no other examples of this form of kiln are known anywhere in Great Britain. The monument now consists of the remains of a set of three kiln bays - each with a rear wall, a base platform and a pair of massive buttress



Rosedale East Mines showing North (Iron) and South (Stone) Calcining kiln, taken from reduced Ordnance Survey County Series Second Edition 25" maps of 1912. North at top.

walls (the two inner ones being shared). The original form of the ground surface before the erection of the kilns may have been camouflaged by the variety of engineering works undertaken in the vicinity but the rear walls of the kilns appear to serve as a revetment for at least a certain amount of made-up ground behind. When complete these bays supported kiln compartments which were fronted by iron plates and within which the iron ore was calcined (roasted) for purification. The structure of the kiln appears to have been protected from the heat of the operation by a lining of fire-bricks, sections of which remain attached to the walls of the kiln bay. However, despite photographs which, although distant, show the kilns as complete before the ironwork was dismantled for reprocessing, there is a lack of knowledge regarding how they actually operated.

Although photographs reveal that in 1966 the rear walls of all 3 kiln bays were still intact, together with large sections of firebrick lining, by the mid-1980s the rear walls of the most southerly two bays had collapsed. In addition during the winter of 1990/91 part of the remaining firebrick lining of the surviving (northern) kiln bay collapsed, bringing down with it a section of the rear wall. It was also clear from the ground that apart from a number of iron ties the main support for the brick lining was simply the strength of the mortar in the joints. There was thus an urgent need to discover why two out of the three rear revetment walls had failed and what had also caused the fall of the section of firebrick in the north bay. This information was essential before any conservation work could be considered feasible, especially since a structural survey carried out in the spring of 1991 suggested that the foundations of the kiln were sound and that no movement was apparent in the surviving bay.

The first and most serious problem was resolved in the summer of 1991. During the course of regular visits to the site it was noticed that water from an active flush/spring at the edge of the moor was finding its way along the edge of a spoil heap into the course of a sunken tramway that runs obliquely behind the top of the kilns. The water was running along the tramway and soaking away roughly opposite the buttress between the two southern kiln bays; after rain a considerable amount of water was observed to soak-away in this area and it became clear that the destabilisation of the rear kiln walls must have been due to water penetration.

A number of options were considered for dealing with this problem but the most practical solution which was adopted was to channel the water along the edge of the bottom of the moor scarp for a distance of some 60m, before dropping it into an area of collapsed workings to find its way, via the strata (which tilt gently back underneath the moor), down to the original water level. The latter is a drain cut to serve the mines, located some 330m to the NNW of the kilns, which appeared to be still functioning.

This work was carried out in October 1991 by contractors under the supervision of the National Park Authority's Archaeological Officer.

The next stage of the preliminary works occurred between January-March 1992. This included the erection of site fencing to provide a working area for contractors and to keep members of the public a safe distance from potentially unstable stonework. This took place at both East Mines sets of kilns and at the ventilation chimney. Work was overseen by archaeological consultants and any features noticed or disturbed during the erection of the fence uprights were recorded.

The post and rail fencing was constructed with sufficient gaps to let sheep enter the compounds and control the vegetation by grazing. However, problems still remain due to the predilection of the sheep to continue scrambling over fragile parts of the structure, especially at the stone kilns. Although only meant to be a temporary measure, it

was also decided that the fence was not visually intrusive and for long term public safety it should remain. Warning notices were erected on the gates and around the perimeters to advise the public of the project.

A number of other phases of preliminary work took place. The first was the excavation and construction of a drain the full length of the sunken tramway to the rear of the kilns, to collect any water that fell or ran into this area and take it to soakaways dug into the slope to the north, in order, hopefully, to protect the surviving kiln bay from any further water penetration damage. This work was preceded by an archaeological evaluation that revealed the structure and layout of the tramway. Several sleeper beams were recorded surviving in-situ



North Bay of North (Iron) kilns under scaffolding, from south-west, 24 November 1992. North York Moors National Park

which still showed the holes for the attachment of the rail shoes. The former position of others were recorded as depressions preserved in the tramway floor resulting from the removal of timbers. Unfortunately, it was not possible to preserve the remains of the tramway intact since to provide an adequate 'fall' for the drain to function properly it was necessary to excavate below the tramway floor, although this was of course preceded by archaeological recording. The excavation of the drain also revealed tie-bars anchoring the girders which had originally supported the kiln superstructure into the hillside.

The second operation was the construction of a temporary timber shelter to provide protection from falling masonry during a small scale archaeological excavation to locate and record the foundations of the north outer buttress wall of the surviving kiln bay, prior to its rebuilding.

The first phase of the main consolidation programme actually commenced at the North (Iron) Kilns in October 1992 after delays by the Department of National Heritage and the Treasury in authorising the 50% grant-aid for the project from English Heritage. The remaining 50% has been funded by the National Park Committee. The total cost of the project is likely to be over a third of a million pounds. This figure reflects both the scale of the monuments being conserved and the need to incorporate structural engineering considerations and architects' fees within the overall budget.

The first operation was the erection of scaffolding within the surviving north kiln bay. Fortunately this was able to be adequately founded on the existing undulating ground surface within the kiln bay and no excavation was required. Concerns over the strength and safety of the upper fire-brick lining of the kiln were not shared by the contractors and proposed temporary supports were not used.

Examination of the fire-brick lining at close quarters revealed the reason why a section had been dislodged some two years previously. This was due to the rusting and expansion of the sawn-off iron girders of the kiln superstructure which protruded through the brick-work. This was causing the brick-work to be forced apart and had eventually caused a section to fail, taking down with it a section of the facing stone of the rear kiln wall.

These problems were obviously a major focus of the conservation project and were treated in a number of different ways. Rusty ironwork was cleaned off and treated against further corrosion, while additional support for the firebricks was provided by the insertion of 600mm x 20mm diameter stainless steel rods through the bricks and epoxied into the rear and side walls. The holes were drilled at metre centre intervals through the bricks themselves. The mortar joints proved so strong that they were very difficult to drill through, which



North Bay of North (Iron) kilns on completion of conservation work, from north-west, 24 March 1993. North buttress wall to left of photograph. North York Moors National Park

probably best explains why elements of the upper brick lining had managed to survive. Holes created in the brickwork were filled in with an appropriately coloured mortar mix to disguise the repairs. Cracks in the face of the brick-work were sealed as was the wall top to prevent water percolation. As a final phase, stainless steel pins were also inserted into the back wall under selected bricks to provide additional support. The facing of the back wall brought down by the earlier collapse of the fire-bricks was rebuilt in character, although it was decided that an attempt to replace the fallen section of fire-bricks was too complex to contemplate.

Work on the remainder of the kilns (the rear walls and side buttresses) consisted of large amounts of grouting voids behind the stonework and then pointing up of joints using a 1:2:7 mix of cement lime and sharp sand after analysis of the surviving mortar. Where the latter was still sound it was not disturbed but failed mortar was cut out. Pointing was finished as slightly recessed. The put-log holes which marked the position of timber scaffolding supports during the original construction of the kiln were left open.

Part of the outer face of the north buttress wall of the kiln was also missing. This had either collapsed or, perhaps more likely, had been deliberately dropped for the stone-work since few facing stones were found in the vicinity. The facing and core work to this wall were partly rebuilt in the character of the surviving stonework with whatever appropriate stones could be salvaged from the site. The difficulties encountered here in finding sufficient facing stones did suggest that much stone had been taken away for re-use over the past six decades.

During the consolidation of the outer face of the south buttress it

was decided, in consultation with English Heritage, that an area of firebrick incorporated into the side of the buttress instead of stone - perhaps representing an original repair - should be cut out and replaced with stone to strengthen the structure.

In the base of the back wall of the kiln bay, which rises at an increasingly steep batter, there are spaced out 4 small tunnels lined with fire-bricks which run back at right angles into the body of the kiln. These may have served to control ventilation to the kilns but this is uncertain. The stone work around these tunnels had started to slump but was reset as part of the project, although they were not repointed internally.

When pointing work was complete the walls were 'topped off' with soil and turf to provide extra protection against frost and ice damage, a technique recommended and widely used by English Heritage.

Work on-site was completed by mid-January 1993. A defects meeting took place early in April to examine whether any areas had not been completed to satisfaction or whether any problems had arisen. A number were isolated and received attention.

Attention could now focus on the South (stone) kilns where temporary supports had previously been installed in two phases. Initially timber centring was erected within two of the central arches which had been damaged in the 1920s. This was due to the construction of a winding engine and gantry associated with the major reprocessing and reclamation operation which took place at that time. The gantry's legs had been cut into the stonework at the base of the two arches, weakening the walling between them which had since partly collapsed. The timber centring within the arches and other props provide additional support for the stonework until more permanent consolidation can be carried out. A second phase of supports were later added within the northern kiln unit for the same purpose. This took the form of centring at the rear of the four arched openings and props to the rear of the front wall which was becoming unstable. Practical consolidation began on this unit in July 1993 and will form the subject of a further article in the next volume.

Further Reading

Hayes R H 1985
Hayes R H 1974

[A History of Ryedale](#) (North York Moors National Park)
[Rosedale Mines and Railway](#) (Scarborough Archaeological and Historical Society Research Report No. 9)

The Village of Pockley: North Riding Yorkshire

by Brian K. Roberts

Introduction

The village of Pockley, set on the southern edge of the Tabular Hills near Helmsley in the North Riding of Yorkshire, has long attracted attention because of the presence of a number of cruck buildings. In 1983 Christopher Taylor, commenting upon the presence of numerous earthworks, published a brief analysis of the plan. The present study is based upon an earthwork survey, but also builds upon evidence visible on the Ordnance Survey 1:10,560 map of 1856 (surveyed in 1853) and the 1:2500 map published in 1893. The survey was undertaken in March 1991, a time when low vegetation allowed the earthworks to be seen. The discussion does include elements of interpretation, but the intention is to create a concise and, so far as is possible, objective presentation of the data.

The Earthwork Survey: Introduction

Figures 1 and 2 represent about six days of work. The details were recorded upon an enlarged Ordnance Survey 1:2500 map of 1893 using pacing, so that the end-product is an interpretative sketch rather than a wholly accurate plan. Nevertheless, within the limits of scale it serves its purpose admirably and includes not only archaeological features, boundaries and the sites of former buildings, but also extends to the living fabric of the settlement, i.e. boundaries and buildings still in use as part of today's functioning landscape. Where the detail of boundaries were not mapped they appear as fine continuous lines. Inevitably, there are limitations: first, this is not a building survey, and those present in 1893 are shown as simple blocks and not recorded in detail. Second, no attempt has been made to note all of the intricate boundary details around the buildings, minor changes of walls, the addition of new structures, demolitions, etc as this would have necessitated a sustained and time-consuming intrusion into privacy. Finally, during discussion key points in the plan will be identified by means of the Ordnance Survey field numbers, given to the plots by the nineteenth century surveyors. These form an adequate locational framework, less cumbersome than using National Grid references.

The Taylor Interpretation

It is important for future studies of settlement morphology - i.e. the study of structural shape - that rigorous standards are set. The present author attempted to move in this direction in 1987 (Roberts 1987), following a lead set by others, not least Christopher Taylor (Taylor 1983, 138-9). The work at Wharram Percy, on the Wolds some miles to the south, has shown debate extending over thirty years to establish the history of a single village plan, debate which serves as a warning of the dangers of extrapolating from limited evidence (Hurst 1984). Nevertheless, we cannot dig everywhere and the basic principles of morphological analysis are gradually being defined and established. Taylor interpreted Pockley (Fig. 2 inset) as a composite plan, of which the northernmost element was a planned street green settlement, a type characteristic of northern England, while the second element was a more rectangular unit planned around a broad green, later built over. Immediately adjacent to this, to the south-west, lay a third element, a smaller less-regular street of cottages and small farmsteads. Taylor's interpretation provides a hypothesis to be tested by this study.

The Earthworks

Figure 1 begins with a careful copy of the details shown on the Ordnance Survey 1:10,560 map published in 1856: this includes the surrounding field boundaries and the isolated trees carefully recorded during the survey in 1853 by Lieutenant Wrottesley, R. E. and his men. The importance of the former will be seen as the argument develops, but the latter, frequently still present in the landscape as stumps, are valuable markers for features appearing as earthworks. This inset also shows the breakline between the two halves of the earthwork survey. It is immediately clear that there are differences between the details of Taylor's reconstruction, the map of 1853 and the author's ground survey; in this respect, at least, Taylor's map is wrong, not a point to be laboured, for this need not in itself invalidate his general interpretation. Thus, there is no doubt that Pockley is composite and that Taylor was wholly correct in identifying the three components. For the purposes of this discussion the village plan is divided into four sections (Fig. 2, inset), designated north-west, north-east, south-west and south-east, on which a fifth element ('the SW nucleus') is grafted.

THE VILLAGE OF POCKLEY, NR. YORKSHIRE 1893:
Northern Section (SE 6385)



The Northern Plan

It is clear that north-west and north-east sectors run together as a unitary plan, with two compartments of house plots, tofts, orientated north-to-south and separated by what was once a rather narrow green. The former presence of a green is attested by fine details, thus, the stone wall boundary between 270 and 275, where it approaches the toft head line along the street, shows a slight change in materials and construction where it crosses the former green. Further, as is often the case, there is a tendency, particularly in the north-west compartment, for the land to slope down from the present building line, essentially the edge of the former green, to the modern roadway, this is visible on the map in fields 262 and 266, but is generally so slight as not to warrant emphasis. Of course, while the compartments can be seen as a two-row street green plan, there is no proof that they were established at the same time. The southern portion of the north-west sector is much disturbed by the intrusion of the post-1893, 'Wytherstone House' now the residence of the present landowner, Lady Clarissa Collin. To her, and tenants of the estate, thanks are due for allowing access for this survey.

Fieldwork reveals that each compartment once contained more linear subdivisions than appear on either of the maps. In all sectors of the village most of the lateral boundaries between house-plots are slight lynchets - steps - usually with a fall to the south of approximately 0.5m. Some are walls, some are hawthorn hedges set with ash standards, some are fences, while some have clear-cut banks, and it is best to interpret these variations as the end-result of a host of minor decisions by landowners and tenants throughout the life of the village. The plots these enclose, of the order of 120m x 20-30m, represent tofts - home closes or paddocks - of the antecedent village, and many once had small farmsteads set at their heads, fronting onto the green. Thus far Taylor's interpretation is correct, and we may perhaps deduce that there were once many more farmsteads in former centuries than can be seen at present, although the earthwork traces, with the exception of those in field 257 (and these are partially quarried away), are now slight and generally rather amorphous. A detailed survey of 1637 (a transcript has been kindly provided by Dr. Barry Harrison) unfortunately cannot be correlated with the ground as it contains too few locational details to be wholly unambiguous, although it may be in house order. Nevertheless, it gives a clear picture; thus William Barker holds by lease one tenement, comprising 'one corn lathe, one cowhouse, one other little house with a garth and a croft called Piper Garth containing one acre' while Margaret Harding holds by lease 'one tenement, one oxhouse, one backhouse, 2 garths and two crofts containing together 3 acres'. The process of amalgamating older, smaller units was already under way by this date, and it is probable that the 24 messuages, tenements and cottages forming the main part of the village in 1637 were the survivors of at least 35, perhaps more, present at an earlier date (NYCRO ZEW IV/1/4).

Within the earthworks of this northern half of the village six particular features may be identified: first, along the western edge of the northern tofts of the north-west compartment there seem to be slight traces of a former back-lane lying within the village boundary bank (visible in fields 262-266). This can be traced further south, appearing in the south-western sector. Second, in fields 270, 273 and so on to 276, there are slight traces of an irregular north-south boundary within the tofts, presumably demarcating the house and yard areas from a paddock to the rear. Once again individual choice results in irregularity and variety. The division between 'garths' i.e. tofts - house sites and yard spaces - and crofts - enclosed field lands - of the 1637 survey are probably visible here, but for simplicity in this discussion the village plots are collectively termed *tofts*. Third, the large 'dew-pond' in field 273 is one of many within or near the village

site. Fourth, in field 270 there are great complexities; these may be resolved into (a) a set of large ploughlands, two of them very large indeed, placed within an enclosure where a large ox-team would find it difficult to operate. Such ploughlands are generally absent from the remaining tofts. (b) To the east there are a complex set of curving boundaries, in part headland, in part village boundary bank and possibly in part feeder for the 'wells' set at the south-east corner of this field and in ends of 278 and 277. If these are indeed traces of pre-village arable, i.e. with the village earthworks superimposed over them, then their crisp sharpness is surprising, and they may perhaps be interpreted as spade-worked ridge and furrow, straight, and in accord with the toft side-boundaries. Nevertheless, their sheer size is remarkable, and this explanation is not wholly satisfactory.

A fifth feature comprises the strong north-south lynchet line, here with a fall of the order of 1.0m but further south (in the south-eastern sector) reaching 1.5m, and carrying a well-developed hedge of hawthorn and holly set with ash standards. To the east of this it is possible to detect a headland associated with former curved plough strips running eastwards. Under arable today this is now flattened, and the current tenant of field 270, with experience as a ploughman, remembers the casting down of the former large ridge and furrow in this 'East Field', in fact once known as Low Field or Keld Field (NYCRO ZEW IV/1/4). As a fifth point, and a corollary of this observation, in field 273 the earthworks of the former toft boundaries are seen to 'hang', i.e. a 0.5m step down to the east is visible within the large north-south lynchet currently demarcating the village area. The presumption must be that they once extended some distance to the east and have been cut back by gradual attrition as the great village boundary lynchet slowly developed, cutting back into the settlement's earlier toft tail line. This extremely complex feature must be considered below, for similarly truncated toft boundaries are also found in the south-eastern sector of the village.

As a final point, the boundaries of this northern plan are often degraded: the south-eastern edge of the north-eastern compartment, particularly between fields 282 and 281, is now much eroded; field track, public right-of-way and a cemetery extension have ensured this, while to the north of the north-western compartment boundaries simply disappear and are often now merely recent fences (e.g. around field 240). At the northern end of the village, in field 239, several low boundaries, are visible, but these need be no more than former field boundaries, although the northernmost may have once had a ditch on the north side. These do not wholly conform with Taylor's interpretation. In 1853 the pinfold (pound) sat at the southern corner of field 239, i.e. at the northern end of the village green.

In summary, Pockley's northern plan component is a regular two-row street green village, some 400m long, a type found in profusion throughout the north of England (Roberts 1987; Roberts in Vyner 1990, 107-125). The surviving details show, with little doubt, that it was a planned construction. The street, approximately 400 metres in length, accords with dimensions of small regular plans throughout the north of England, and the underlying geometric order strongly suggests that the two compartments were planned. However, it is worth noting that in no cases do the lateral toft boundaries suggest that an underlying arable furlong was used as the basis for the layout; no aratral curves have been detected, even in toft 270, where ridge and furrow is present. Of course, this observation does not wholly exclude the possibility that the settlement plan was superimposed over former arable strips, but it opens the possibility that the geometric order was developed by measurement along and sighting from a base-line down the centre of the green. In this it is significant to note that in only one or two instances do the boundaries along each side of the street appear to be in accord *across* the street, i.e. that between fields 277 and 276 and possibly that between 273 and 275.

The South-Eastern Compartment

The south-eastern sector of the settlement comprises the most regular of the compartments, a rectangle some 260m x 90m. It is unfortunate that the junction between this and the north-eastern compartment is a well-worn area (field 281) offering cart and tractor passage to the fields to the east as well as being a public right of way affording access to an extension to the cemetery; there are, however, no grounds for assuming that there was any form of physical separation between the northern and southern parts of the village, as suggested by Taylor, other than the substantial southern boundary of the north-eastern compartment (i.e. between fields 282 and 281), although the right of way, which in fact precedes the cemetery suggests the presence of a toft vennel or field access lane. It is in this south-eastern compartment, delimited to the east by a 1-1.5m lynchet of complex form, always hedged and sometimes walled, that 'hanging' or truncated toft boundaries are particularly visible, particularly between fields 292 and 291. Once again the soft-contoured grassed lynchets of these boundaries, at right angles to the north-south street or green, are approximately 0.5m in height.

A particularly important boundary is that between field 288 and 291: this, and indeed that between 288 and 281, are clear reversed-S curves, and appear as such on the survey of 1853. These are more visible on the ground than on the map, and the arable strips once extended downslope to the east for some 350m, part of a former great furlong designated the 'East Field' - the Keld Field of 1637. An 'eye of faith' shows on-ground traces of the great headland of this field to the east of the north-south lynchet forming the eastern boundary of this compartment. Analogy with other cases from the region would suggest that this scale of strip-furlong-headland arrangement is broadly medieval, and so provides a crude *terminus ante quem* for the toft boundaries whose tails are clipped by the great lynchet set upslope of the headland. Medieval pottery fragments were recovered from molehills near the toft head in field 292. The large size of the great lynchet to the east, a product of centuries of ploughing encouraging a downslope drift of soil eastwards from the flat-topped ridge on which this compartment is located, does appear to suggest a substantial age for the compartment and its internal boundaries.

This analysis, however, begs one question: given the fact that the edges of the tofts are lynched, none show aratral curves, and most show generally flat, rather smooth surfaces, without obvious signs of ploughing; are we seeing here traces of several centuries of spade-working? This point must be reiterated: the gradients of the tofts, stepping gently from north to south, are not natural, for a 0.5m lynchet involves the movement of substantial amounts of soil. Before being cast down to grass they have been modified by sustained cultural activity and yet none of this south-eastern sector appear to show either traces of ploughing or aratral formed curves. What forces did mould them?

The South Western Sector

The remaining elements of the plan are much more complex to interpret. There seems to be no reason to doubt Taylor's identification of a central green, now wholly enclosed, in this southern portion of Pockley's plan. Smithy, school and Methodist chapel all lay on, but peripheral to, this green, but the northern end does now carry a substantial farmstead. From the field evidence nothing further can be added to these speculations. However, a shallow valley, opening to the south, intrudes into the plateau surface to the west of the supposed green and the complex earthworks of this south-western sector are best analyzed point by point.

(1) South of the church, in the eastern side of field 257, foundations and quarrying are found, but the building of Wytherstone House (in field 527A) to the west of the church resulted in landscaping which extends westwards. There is absolutely no trace of the continuation of the east to west cross-boundary, postulated by Taylor, between the two plan components.

(2) In the western portion of field 257 a slope marking the edge of the shallow valley emerges from the landscaped grounds and there are here traces of both a bank and a slight hollow, a lane rather than a watercourse, this being traceable southwards into field 301 as a shallow depression; a kidney-shaped quarry (now quite smooth in contours) destroys the evidence in the centre of the plot, and further south in the same plot what must be a later bank intrudes into the lane in the southern part of field 301 (Point C).

(3) The boundary between fields 257 and 301, now partly destroyed, must be a later feature of the site, for in the angle between 257 and 284 are traces of a lynchet (Point A), parallel to the other two east to west boundaries in field 301; this is evidence for the presence of an earlier boundary at this location, now largely obliterated by the newer, and partially destroyed, boundary between 257 and 301. The line of the latter feature, *secondary* to the sequence of earlier boundaries, seems to continue into the south eastern compartment; the discontinuities involved in these relationships suggest that the orientation of plot boundaries in this part of the site is by no means simple. One earthwork boundary (in plot) continues westwards wholly across 301 (Point B), perhaps acknowledging the lane, while the traces of the lane itself can be seen in earthworks probably continuing southwards to join the former lane, still to be seen between fields 301 and field 317.

(4) The western limit of this complex of earthworks is seen at the western lip of the valley (in field 301) as a slight boundary around ridge and furrow ploughing. This feature is only clearly visible within the pasture close of the village, for recent ploughing has destroyed any possible extensions into the present arable field to the west.

(5) To conclude, it is probable that the remains of the north-south lane seen in field 301 represents the original toft tail line of the village earthworks in this sector.

The interpretation of this evidence is difficult: an east to west lane between fields 301 and 317 can be traced to the southwest as earthworks in the western portions of fields 317-8 (Point E), and appears to have joined the lane between 311 and 314. However, there are two complications: first, the course of this latter lane in fact decapitates the ridge and furrow which terminates in the headland along the lip of the valley (point H); the presumption must be that the lane between 301 and 317 *joined* the headland, giving access to it. Second, the lane at Point F is later than the ridge and furrow extending from field 311 to 314, where the headland and a break of slope downwards to the site of the cottages at a lower level can be found. Unfortunately field 315, an orchard, reveals nothing. It is probable that the buildings now visible were intruded into a green way; this was left between the headland seen in field 314 at Point G and then swung northwards to Point H, changing direction in the vicinity of field 315, and the enclosing bank, traces of which are seen at Point D. The matter is complicated because between Point E and entry into the roadway near Point G a watercourse finds its way, clearly shown on the 1853 six inch map and the 1893 25 inch; this is now buried beneath the gardens. The antiquity of the underlying arrangements is implied by the fact that many of the buildings intruded into the former green way, i.e. a broad swathe of green land, used as a roadway, perhaps for a water-course, and for tethered grazing of beasts, are of cruck construction. They are hardly later than 1700.

THE VILLAGE OF POCKLEY,
NR. YORKSHIRE 1893:
Southern Section (SE 6381).



To the east of these complexities and south of the village, fields 319, 320 and 331 are now amalgamated into one pasture and show no traces of earthworks other than a former roadside bank at the western edge of field 319 (Point D), already interpreted as the south-eastern side of a former green way, while the earlier details of the building enclosures (field 332) are now much altered. Between 320 and 319 and 331 is another very large north-south lynchet, parallel to the structure of the south-eastern compartment; this shows no signs of buildings below the lynchet (Taylor's interpretation) nor above the lynchet, where the author would have expected a second compartment of tofts, on the flat plateau surface. In fact field 320 shows clear traces of ridge and furrow extending north to south. If this were an early compartment this, and earlier ploughing would have eradicated any slight traces of buildings. Perhaps it was merely laid out but never occupied. On balance, however, the pasture closes to the south of the 'green' are best interpreted as enclosures rather than former settlement land.

The south-western sector of Pockley cannot be interpreted in terms of a simple compartment with a peripheral subsidiary nucleus. The interpretation of the earthworks suggests the possibility of several drastic remodellings in this sector, and while it is unwise to create any elaborate construction from the fragments, the suggestion of a former demesne area to the south and west of the church, with a group of associated cottages placed on the edges of a former green lane appears to be a possibility. It could be that the demesne farmstead migrated to the south-west, a move which could account for the very large steading at the southern end of the present village. The distinctive cruck cottages of this 'SW nucleus' may represent ministerial holdings associated with this, preserved within the context of a conservative estate administration. It is just possible that the block of cottages described in 1637 as 'Buxtail parcel of the lordship of Helmsley yet lying in Pockley' may be represented by this nucleus - a suggestion, it must be stressed, unsupported by hard evidence except for their tenurial separation from the rest of the village.

Conclusion

Taylor's interpretation was partly correct and partly wrong - the most of all us can hope for - but this on-ground investigation has generated a more complex interpretation of the plan. Clearly, this field study could be most usefully extended with the use of more documents, if such exist. Furthermore, the analysis has revealed a general principle, namely that within and around those traditional northern villages that have escaped the ravages of recent development it is possible to identify three zones. Zone I comprises an inner core, the most 'lived in' area, containing buildings, outbuildings, yard-spaces and inner paddocks. Here, the rate of change is rather high, at least in times of prosperity, and while historic buildings and sub-surface remains will survive, wear and tear, superimposition, change and intricacy of detail characterise this zone, which really demands architectural, anthropological and archaeological investigation. Zone II, in contrast, comprises the village enclosures proper - the tofts - where older redundant landscape elements persist amid pasture closes. Some may be substantially adapted, but most are treated with indifference, either being repaired when necessary or allowed to decay *in situ*. This is a landscape 'at risk', where any radical 'development' tends to occur, often by breaking a roadway through from the old street axis, to gain access to one or more of the toft tails in which new buildings can be placed. Zone III comprises the enveloping fields and here, particularly in an arable region, agricultural practices are very destructive, leaving few surfaces traces of the past except for deeply engraved elements such as ridge and furrow and associated tracks and headlands.

As all scenically attractive villages are now particularly

susceptible to destruction as a result of 'pecuniation', i.e. the investment of capital in renewing or expanding old, and creating new, buildings or housing estates, and as archaeological excavation is an increasingly expensive operation, there is a need for primary field investigations of this type to be undertaken throughout all of the more rural regions, both in the North of England and beyond. It is clear that we are several decades too late to obtain the best results.

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The Boundary Between Cold Kirby and Sutton-under-Whitestonecliffe By Nancy Spratt.

Boundary disputes were common in the 18th century as populations increased and as more land was becoming enclosed. The dispute which simmered throughout the century between Cold Kirby and Sutton-under-Whitestonecliffe at the south-west corner of the North Yorkshire Moors is well documented, at least from the Sutton side (1). Mr Francis Smyth of Sutton Hall wrote many letters on the subject to the Archbishop of York as Lord of the Manor of Sutton, and in 1761 he prepared a detailed summary of the dispute when the matter was going to arbitration. In 1760 a 'ruff plan' was produced (Fig 1.) delineating the rival claims of the two villages. This plan, with its accompanying notes, gives all the facts. The human side of the story is presented by Mr Smyth.

Quite a large area of land was involved, from Lake Gormire below the scarp slope of Sutton Bank to Cleveland Street (or Hambleton Street) about 1km east of the bank top. This rough moor was coveted by both sides for grazing, and Sutton people regularly came up the hill to gather turves for fuel.

Mr Smyth's 1761 story begins with the witness of Robert Bosomworth, aged 83. "About 60 years ago some Sutton people employed a labourer or two from Cold Kirby to pair Turfs for them, who desired at the same time to get a few for themselves, and some of their neighbours, perceiving this, took the like liberty." Whereupon the Sutton people "took their carts to lead them off and burnt some, and would not suffer Cold Kirby cattle to stray on the common without impounding them." Other witnesses told similar tales. Robert Burton of Kirby, aged 93, said that he heard his father (who had been over 100 when he died 20 years earlier) say that Sutton people used to drive the cattle of all the neighbouring towns from off Sutton Common as far as Cleveland Street, and that "they always paid out loosings to the Sutton people.... Sutton people often burnt the turbary gotten by the Cold Kirby people."

This suggests that the ownership of the common was in dispute well before 1700, but after the incident described by Robert

Bosomworth the Cold Kirby people complained to their landlord, Sir William Ascough, who said he could not help it, for his limit went no further than Cleveland Street. In 1706 the estate of Cold Kirby was sold to Henry Dawney, Viscount Downe, following the death of Sir William Ascough. Shortly after this, Mr Spencer, a clergyman, purchased an estate at Sutton. He was related by marriage to Lord Downe's steward, and "in consideration of some ground at Baulk at low rent belonging to Lord Downe", gave leave for Cold Kirby people to get turf at Hambleton on a part of the moor claimed by Sutton, and "being a principal freeholder in Sutton and at the same time a kind of a Mad Man, would not suffer any prosecution against them." When Mr Spencer died in 1733, the people of Cold Kirby, "apprehending they were likely to be deprived of the above privilege, applied to Mr Pinkney, who kept their Court, to draw up a pretended right to part of Sutton, by which they might baffle the Sutton people. At first he refused, as an honest man, then agreed to do it for 2 guineas". The words are Mr Smyth's, of course, and he goes on to say that "Mr Pinkney often declared his account of the bounds to be

an absolute forgery, and he gave the original paper to the inhabitance of Sutton, which is now in my hands."

In 1738 and 1739 two petitions were sent to the Archbishop of York, from his "poor tenants", for a riding of the bounds because of continued trespass by Cold Kirby. The Archbishop sent his steward, Mr Yoward, to "discharge the Cold Kirby people from ever riding within his liberties again, or making the least encroachments of any kind, the which if they did, he would prosecute them at his own expence, to the utmost rigor of the Law; and ordered Mr Yoward at the same time to ride the Boundaries, that they might not Plead ignorance for the future." After this the Cold Kirby people "continued thus peaceable for near 17 years, till the 27th of June 1759, when they assembled in a body again, with Mr Whitehead an attorney as their Head, and road their sham Boundaries a second time, taking in a far greater part of the Common than what they had done before, above two miles in circumference (in the middle of which lies a high road that had always been repaired by Sutton time immemorial) cutting up the ground as they went along and calling certain Stones Boundaries, which had been casually drop'd there only a few years before. And since this, meeting with no check, they have been more audacious than ever.... abusing them (the Sutton People) in the grossest manner imaginable, whenever they meet any of them upon the Moor; so that their Property is not only invaded, but their very Lives in danger."

A final dramatic incident occurred in 1762. Three Cold Kirby woman "set on Adam Bosomworth and Robert Coates, two reputable Sutton farmers with the utmost fury, with sticks, stones or whatever they could put their hands on, then went directly to the Justice and swore the peace against these two men. Although there were about a dozen witnesses, and neither struck at all or gave them any insults save holding their hands, they were bound over to appear at Gisborough Sessions".

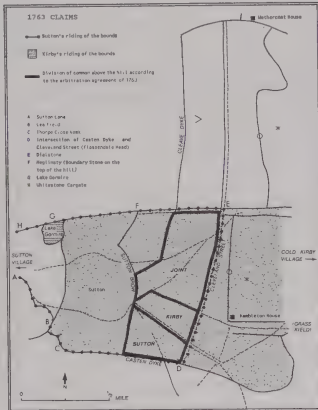


Figure 2



Boundary Dispute, Figure 1.

The Rival Territorial Claims of Sutton and Cold Kirby

Francis Smyth writes: "The landholders and inhabitants of Sutton have time out of mind always enjoyed an unquestionable right and sole property in a tract of ground called Sutton Common. "He goes on to describe the boundary (Comments in parenthesis are mine): "Beginning at the East end of the town to a place called Thorpe Close Head, and so all along a great ditch (Casten Dike) which divides the common of Kilburn from that of Sutton, to a place called Flassendale Head; from thence straight along Cleveland Street, which divides the common of Sutton from Cold Kirby, to a greater stone called Steeping Cross (Dialstone, surely); and from then directly West to a place called Meglinsty (on the brow of the hill), lying within Dent Nabb and so thence streight down to a quick Fence near Whitestone Cargate (Carr Lane), the which said Fence divides the Lordship of Sutton from the Lordship of Thirby. These Boundaries, as described above, have at intervals been road time out of mind and are also perfectly known to the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Towns."

There follows Mr. Pinkney's "villainous piece of forgery". But it is not in fact an invention of Mr Pinkney's. There is a record of a perambulation of the bounds of Cold Kirby in 1651 which is virtually the same as Mr Pinkney's account. So Cold Kirby's territorial ambitions, both northwards towards Bolthby and westwards towards Sutton, have a very long history.

The 1763 Agreement

The rival claims are succinctly laid out on the map (Fig 1) with its accompanying notes. The additional sketch map (Fig 2) is probably necessary for the modern reader. "1760 July 3 I Road the Bounds attended with above 100 people from Sutton and Cold Kirby I road from A to B & C and there Began to Ride from C to D and then E and then To F should a Road to G and H but could not the Ground being very Hilly and Rockey. Sutton Boundaries has always been Rode in the same manner. Cold Kirby has Rode abt. three times within the memory of man begun at C Road to D Round their own Lordship to E and then to F and from G to C again wch they left Sutton very little comon. Cold Kirby has frequently cut turves on the Turff Ground wch is not a very Large Peice and the Sutton People has frequently led them away and burnt them and they have several times driven the Comon and made the Kirby people pay out loossings for their cattle. . . The Kirby people untill very late Rode in the Ground at which the Duke of Rutland now claims and the Kirby people has desisted Riding it whc makes is strongly appear that Cleveland Street is the boundary between the two townships. The road at R has always been repaired by the Sutton People. "(This is the cartway down the hill).

It would appear that Cold Kirby had gradually lost its claim to "the ground at". Saxton's 1598 map of Old Byland (3) shows Kereby Moore as lying both sides of Cleveland Street and this stretch of land, between the Cleave Dike and Cleveland Street northwards from Dialstone, was included in the 1651 perambulation. On an early 18th century map (4) it is described as "Part between the Duke of Rutland and Chris. Dawney Esq." But it was not being claimed at all in 1760.

The Arbitration Bond (1 & 6) was signed and sealed by Robert Bewlay for the Archbishop of York and by Richard Hitchingman for Christopher Dawney on 30th November 1763. It begins: "Whereas there is a large and extensive Common or Moor containing several hundred acres of Ground which lies and hath laid open to both the said Manors Time Immemorial and several Doubts and Disputes have lately arose how far in extent of this said Common of Moor doth justly belong to the said Manors respectively" the Lords of the

Manors "do now stand firmly Bound to each other in the penal sum of Two hundred pounds to ascertain, settle, award and finally Determine the Extent Boundaries Limits Rights and privileges of the said Common."

The common was to be divided into four parts (Fig 3):

(1) All the disputed land below the scarp slope, known as the Banks, plus High Close, the freehold held by Mr Aislable on the top of the hill, was to be the "sole and intire Right and Property of Sutton under Whitsoncliffe".

(2) Above the hill, in the southernmost part of the disputed common, bounded to the north by the road from Sutton to Scawton, Sutton was awarded the sole right of turbary. The boundary was to be set out by boundary stones marked with the capital letter S.

(3) Similarly, the portion of common to the north by the Sutton to Scawton road and bounded to the north by the Race Ground or Wythes, was awarded to Cold Kirby for turbary and was to be marked by boundary stones marked with a capital K.

(4) The remainder of the common, known as Wythes Pastures, bounded on the west by the brow to the hill and by the High Close of William Aislable, on the north by Boulthby Common, and on the west by Cleveland Street, was "esteemed to belong jointly to the said Manors or Lordship... the cattle and sheep shall Intercommon and Depasture Indiscriminately with each other upon all the said three parts of the said common... but we do nevertheless Award Adjudge and Determine that the owner lessees and tenants of Messuages Cottages or Lands within the said Manors . . . shall not have any right of Turbary for Fewel upon or from the said last mentioned third part of the said Wythes called the Wythes Pasture".

On the 1760 map (Fig 2) the limits of the "Kirby turff ground" and the "Sutton turff ground" are drawn in, with the comment (almost illegible that "Kirby part is much larger than Sutton's". There is no record of any division of the common before the arbitration agreement, so perhaps these details were added after 1763, presumably by a Sutton person.

The 1794 Dispute

The arbitration award is described as being "binding, final, and conclusive", but thirty years later there was competition again for ownership of the common above the hill. The Enclosure Award for Cold Kirby is dated 1789, but no maps for this survive. Preparatory to the enclosure of Sutton Common, there was a riding of the bounds on 27th May 1794, with a chance to appeal within one month. The boundary was that claimed by Sutton before the 1763 agreement (Fig 3). All the land between Lake Gormire and Cleveland Street was "parcel of the commons, moor and waste ground within the township of Sutton-under-Whistoncliffe to be divided and inclosed by virtue of the said Act, except High Closes and Garbutt Close, which the Commissioners did not consider to be part of the said common".

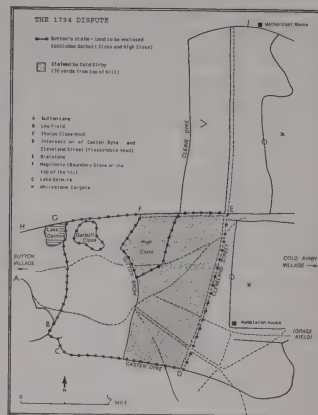


Figure 3

Elizabeth Allanson, owner of these closes, appealed, claiming several additional parcels of land. Charles Slingsby, for Cold Kirby, claimed all the common above the hill which had been the subject of the tripartite agreement in 1763. Due to change of ownership, both plaintiffs said they were not bound by the old agreement. The cases were to be brought before the Yorkshire Lent Assizes of 1795. Charles Slingsby, for Lord Duncombe, brought a plea of trespass against Mr Francis Smyth, "then and long before and still being a lessee of and under the Archbishop of York, having right of common on the said commons". (This is in fact a son of the same name, Francis Smyth the elder having died in 1779, but he seems to have inherited his father's determined and forthright nature). A careful description of the boundary claimed by Cold Kirby leads us along the top of the brow of the hill "parallel to the side of the top of the hill about 10 yards from the same". (Fig 3) The two men both faithfully promised to pay the other the sum of £5 if proved wrong. Charles Slingsby, averring that he was in the right, declared that "the said Francis became liable to pay, and ought to have paid the said Charles Slingsby the said sum of £5 . . . yet the said Francis, not regarding his assured promise and undertaking but continuing and fraudulently craftily and subtilly to deceive and defraud the said Charles Slingsby . . . hath not yet paid the sum of money or any part thereof".

Francis Smyth vociferously defended both cases. He claimed that at the Dissolution Henry VIII sold to the Archbishop of York the common above the hill, including Hambleton House. The papers were apparently lost, so "our case will depend on usage and enjoyment." Tithes of wool and lamb were paid to the Vicar of Felixkirk by the people of Sutton for their sheep depasturing on the disputed moor. Also, a parliamentary survey of all the church estates by the Commissioners of the Commonwealth in the time of the Usurpation in 1647 quoted for the Lordship of Sutton profits "from the Manor of Mount St John . . . for the sheep rake in Kirby." He dismissed the fact that Kirby people acted as stewards for the racing on Sutton as a proof of ownership, and pointed out that Sutton Common had not been included in the enclosure of Cold Kirby in 1789. We have no record of the verdict, but in the 1846 Tithe map of Felixkirk the only land held by Sutton on the top of the hill is what used to be Mr Aislabie's High Close, and the boundary is the same today. So it would appear that Francis Smyth lost his case.

But recalling that Cold Kirby originally claimed land as far west as Lake Gormire, he might agree that the final result was a draw.

Acknowledgements are due to Nick Staley for the diagrams, to many friends for advice and encouragement, and to my late husband, Don, who started it all off.

References

- 1) Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Archbishop's correspondence re Felixkirk, CC Ab 9, includes the map, Fig 1.
- 2) North Yorkshire County Record Office, Dawnay Archive for Cold Kirby ZDS IV 14/3 Mic 1814, frame 59.
- 3) Public Record Office, Map MPB 32.
- 4) NYCRO, Belasis collection ZDV V1 9 Mic 1504, frame 197
- 5) NYCRO, ZDS IV 14/3 Mic 1814, frames 64,65.

Helmsley Archaeological Society: Summer Excursions, 1992-93.

Appleton le Moors

Members of the Society had the benefit of Mrs Madge Allison's detailed knowledge as we accompanied her for a walk around the village. It is a classic example of a village whose regular form of a single main street with two back lanes suggests an episode of deliberate planning. Most houses have a main street frontage and a long garth extending 100 metres or so to a back lane. Most are built of local limestone in the vernacular style of the district, and roofed in pantile or slate.

Quite different from the rest of the village are the Hall (now an hotel), the school, the church, and the former vicarage. The Hall is an 18th century house much altered in the 19th century by Joseph Shepherd, an Appleton man who went to sea from Whitby with his uncle, William Scoresby, the whaling captain. Having made a fortune he returned to Appleton only to be killed in a fall from his horse. Joseph's widow was responsible for building the church and the school. The church was an early venture by the architect, John Pearson.

Appleton was one of the townships in the large parish of Lastingham, and until the 19th century there was no church in the village. However, there are early references to a chapel, last mentioned in the 16th century. Mrs Allison makes a good case for this having been a 'free chapel' perhaps under monastic authority. In the 18th century there was a piece of land called Chapel garth at the south end of the village near the present Manor Farm, a possible clue to the site of the chapel.

Staithe and Port Mulgrave

John Owen is an active member of the Cleveland Industrial Archaeological Society, and the author of reports on the mining industries of the Yorkshire Coast.

On a darkly overcast day in June he took some members along the shore from Staithe to Port Mulgrave. Here are abundant remains of the early days of Cleveland ironstone extraction, with evidence of quarrying from the shore as well as drifts cut into the cliffs. John Owen was the first to publish detailed descriptions of the docks cut into the shore platform, and of the rutways cut into the rock which guided the wheels of horse drawn carts carrying ore to the loading points - all material was transported by sea.

As we picked our way along the shore we saw the dip of the Middle Lias strata in the cliff face: seams of iron bearing sandstone slanted down to shore level where we crossed them bevelled off in the shore platform. We were shown how the truncated promontory of Old Nab has been honeycombed by pillar and stall mining, now increasingly exposed and destroyed by erosion.

Where the Jet Rock overlying the Main Seam ironstone descends to the lowest part of the cliff, short tunnels and hollows are evidence of small scale individual enterprise. Small fragments of jet can be hacked out of the shaly rock.

Approaching Port Mulgrave the Main Seam dips below shore level and we were shown where shafts near the cliff top gave access to it. Fishermen now occupy shacks next to the decaying walls of Port Mulgrave harbour. Here, in the 19th century, was the outlet for a considerable mining operation.

Stanwick

Dr Colin Haselgrove of Durham University led us round part of the great complex of iron age earthworks at Stanwick, following up a lecture he had given the Society in the previous year. A research project based at Durham's Department of Archaeology is contributing to a better understanding of the site. The outer ramparts at Stanwick enclose an area of nearly 300 hectares. Superimposed on the earliest features are mediaeval village remains (with church and manor house), the precincts and deer park of the 18th century Stanwick Hall (itself now demolished), and the effects of centuries of agriculture.

We began our itinerary at the defended habitation site known as the Tofts. Part of this site was among those excavated in 1951-52 by Sir Mortimer Wheeler whose somewhat romantic interpretation ran ahead of the evidence. At the Tofts Roman style buildings of stone have been found which predate the construction of major defensive works in the mid 1st century A.D. We also saw the 'Guardianship Site' where a length of outer rampart sectioned by Mortimer Wheeler has been partially reconstructed with stone revetments exposed. Dr Haselgrove suggested that perhaps prestige as much as defensive need determined the scale of some of the fortifications. No evidence has been found of large scale military conflict.

Ravenscar

Prominent marks have been left on many coastal landscapes of North Yorkshire by the extraction and processing of alum from the Upper Lias shales. After acquiring land around Ravenscar the National Trust found itself in possession of the remains of the Peak Alum Works where operations had continued for more than 200 years until 1862, the only such site undamaged by coastal erosion. Gary Marshall has been researching the history of the works for the Trust, and has been responsible for excavating and preserving the remains for public display.

He gave us a brief account of the works process in the two great quarries in the face of Stoupe Brow. Here heaps of shale were calcined on the quarry floor; the resulting material was steeped in large water tanks to dissolve out the alum salts. Though the slopes are now overgrown it is possible to see remnants of the stone lined gulleys and culverts which carried the alum solution several hundred metres downhill to the Boiling House near the cliff top.

Here the solution was purified, the alum crystallized out, and ground to a final product. This process required a large input of coal brought by sea, together with chemicals (initially seaweed or human urine in bulk, later potassium chloride). Export of the end product was also by sea, and we saw the pack horse trail down the cliff side to the loading dock cut in the shore platform. The old track was eventually replaced by an inclined railway, much of which is still there, and may be excavated at a later date.

Filey

Professor Philip Rahtz led a walk at Filey where we visited the very fine parish church of St. Oswald, and the site of the Roman Signal Station on Carr Naze.

Filey was never more than a small fishing village until its development as a holiday resort in the 19th century, so it is surprising to find such a large medieval church. Its situation is also a surprise; separated from the original village by a steep ravine. Almost all the fabric dates from the 12th century, when the church belonged to Bridlington Priory.

In 1992 Professor Rahtz alerted Scarborough Borough Council and York Archaeological Trust to the precarious condition of the 4th century Roman signal station on the narrow neck of Carr Naze where the cliff top plateau of boulder clay has now been reduced by erosion

to a width of only five metres. The station is the southernmost of five whose remains survive on the Yorkshire coast. It was discovered after a cliff fall in 1857.

Later in 1992 a ground contour survey was made by Trevor Pearson and Chris Hall of Scarborough Archaeological Society, and during our visit we compared their survey plan with what we could see on the ground, and with the plan based on the excavation by F.G. Simpson in 1923. We saw layers of stone fragments sectioned in the cliff and exposed in the worn surface of the footpath.

In October 1993 Patrick Ottaway on behalf of York Archaeological Trust began a detailed excavation which exposed the south wall of the signal station's central tower. It was found to be substantially built of stone and about 1.5 metres wide.

Basil Wharton

Don Spratt. A Personal Tribute

The pleasure and, indeed, the excitement of working with Don Spratt was to share the way he brought all his scientific training, his experience in industry and his scholarly good taste to bear on archaeological problems.

He became interested in archaeology while still working on Teesside - collecting and examining flint fragments over a period of years and identifying the central problem as to what evidence they could yield of the nomadic life of Mesolithic man. He traced them from the area near Flamborough Head over the hunting grounds of the North York Moors to the social gathering places on the watersheds. Following other clues he made the important discovery of the winter quarters of the nomads who used the flints in the area near Upleatham. And he published the results of his researches (or, rather, of the working group's researches, as he would say) promptly for others to use and build on.

His next work was to locate an Iron Age site. The existence of such sites was deduced from the presence of the fort on Eston Nab excavated by Alan Aberg in 1968-69. This showed no trace of living accommodation. Where did the people of the fort dwell? Don Spratt and his three companions searched on foot at first, then by air when his experience in the RAF proved useful in identifying signs in the landscape. Two sites were discovered; over the next eight years they dug at weekends, weather permitting. Their excavation revealed a considerable agricultural settlement of the Iron Age. The subsequent report was justly awarded the R.M. Baguley Prize given each year for the best publication in the Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society; - the first time work by amateurs had been so honoured.

When he retired in 1979 he followed an archaeology course at Sheffield University and then was able to spend his time as he wished; in preliminary research followed by field work and long exciting discussions of his discoveries - often at his home where, after enjoying the hospitality of his wife, Nancy, we sat or crouched, surrounded by maps and diagrams, indulging at times, I must confess, in 'lateral thinking' which outran logical support.

He had a long fascination with the dykes of the North Yorkshire hills and their relation to tumuli as indicators of past estates - again I have memories of walking through deep wet heather with Don and Raymond Hayes, tracing the old patterns. Don published accounts of this work at intervals, interspersed with papers on Querns and Orthostatic Walls, but it took five years to complete the survey and interpret the results to his satisfaction.

His next enthusiasm was for the investigation of the remains of

rabbit warrens that led to a paper with Alan Harris. This began as a field investigation and developed into an account of the development and decline of a widespread industry, the manufacture of hats.

No wonder he was asked to assemble and write material for the BAR publication on the Prehistoric and Roman Archaeology of North East Yorkshire. This received the Pitt-Rivers Award for 1984, and a revised edition was published in 1993. Another side of his approach is seen in the popular book he edited with B.J.D. Harrison, 'The North York Moors Landscape Heritage'. Both reflect his high standards of preparation of texts for publication. He placed great importance on communication; he has recorded his ideal:-

'If archaeologists concentrated more on developing the necessarily complex methods of interpreting our fragmentary data and in communicating them in the Queen's English to field workers we should have fewer . . . unsatisfactory interpretations.' YAJ 55, 1983, p 183.

In 1990 he received the Silver Trowel awarded by the Council of British Archaeology for an outstanding contribution to archaeology over many years. This was a fitting climax to a full and happy life.

George Morris

Review.

'Upland Britain, A Natural History', Margaret Atherden, Manchester University Press, 1992, £12.95.

Margaret Atherden is Senior Lecturer in Geography at what is now the University College of Ripon and York St. John. She has long known the North York Moors, as I know from my years with the National Park Department and this comes through in her book.

Uplands are defined as land over 300m and include most of Scotland and Wales and, in England, most of the National Parks, including the North York Moors. The first chapter describes geology and structure, climate and soils. The second, 'Fifteen thousand years of change' lists the various types of evidence which allow ecologists to study past environments and their wildlife:- old documents, archaeological artefacts, and especially the remains of plants and animals, which can be best preserved in peat bogs or lake sediments. Climate and natural history are described from the Late Glacial to the late Post Glacial periods. Human impact is then considered; hunter gatherers who probably used fire as an aid to hunting, stock keeping, shifting cultivation and woodland management aided by the gradual development of iron tools. The Romans organized agriculture and industry on a large scale, cleared much woodland, spread arable agriculture and introduced many new crops to Britain. Population decreased in the Anglo Saxon period, but recovered a little in the Viking age. Domesday Book (1086) is important documentary evidence as the first systematic account of land use in Britain. The medieval and subsequent periods are then described.

The next eight chapters each take different habitats and describe when and how they developed and how they are managed by man. Each chapter also contains descriptions of the natural history, listing plants and wildlife. In Chapter Five, 'Deciduous Woodlands' Dr. Atherden describes the development of 'wildwood' (there is none left in Britain but there is an example in Poland).

There are, however, many 'secondary woods', (oak, hazel or birch, such as Garbutt Wood near Helmsley), and here plant growth is limited by the available light. She describes the historical development of plant life and soils, including fungus, animal life, woodland management, wood pasture and woodlands today. Products useful to man are divided into timber (for beams, shafts and planks) and wood, often via coppicing (for fuel, production of charcoal, bark

for tanning, and the manufacture of reels and bobbins).

Chapter Six on the Heather Moorlands describes these soils as nearly always acid. Moorlands originated following the removal of woodland cover and all our large moors are thought to have existed by the end of the Iron Age. Some marginal land was taken into agriculture at times of agricultural expansion such as the early medieval period or the end of the Napoleonic Wars. The two main forms of management have been grazing and burning. Among the animals grazing the moors have been cattle, sheep, goats, ponies, pigs, ducks and geese. During the last century regular burning was introduced to keep the heather in a palatable state. From about 1850 grouse shooting became popular and highly profitable. The wisdom of burning is now being questioned: problems can arise from loss of nutrient from controlled burning, while accidental fires (which can cover very large areas) can lead to erosion. Overgrazing occurs in some areas and elsewhere bracken encroaches. The chapter concludes with a special study of the North York Moors, describing in particular work on pollen analysis and historical trends such as the movement of settlements, monastic investment in farms, the extent of the Royal Forest of Pickering, and rabbit warrens.

The last landmark to be studied is that of boundaries and highways, Stone walls, banks, hedges, and fences were introduced in the Anglo Saxon period but became far more plentiful with medieval enclosure. As many know the species composition of hedges indicates their age: an average of one new species per century will colonize a 30m length of hedge.

'Upland Britain' is a comprehensive yet readable book. The academic references are placed at the end of each chapter. Latin names for plant and animal species have been deliberately kept from the text: full lists of them are to be found in the glossary. There are good photographs and clear and informative maps, diagrams and tables. As David Bellamy said when he reviewed it, it is 'written with authority and affection - a mountain of understanding'.

Pat Sutor.

Review

'Old Stones, Old Fields, Old Farms: a History of the Snilesworth area', Bill Cowley, Turker Books, Northallerton, 1993, £6.00.

First impressions of Bill Cowley - tall, slightly gangling, slow spoken - suggests one of those apparently guileless hayseed characters fondly portrayed by Hollywood actors like Gary Cooper and James Stewart. Behind the casual facade there quickly emerges a shrewd questioning intelligence and a crisp appreciation of the realities of a problem. Now cheerfully retired from first, the Indian Civil Service, and then decades of farming near Swainby under the western rim of the North Yorkshire Moors, Bill is still energetically involved in sundry activities, from the Yorkshire Dialect Society to the study of the Moors in all their variety. This publication, the result of several years' fieldwork and research in the area round the headwaters of the River Rye, is a remarkable achievement.

Snilesworth, an upland steppe of peaty moor and sudden ravines and waterfalls, will be superficially familiar to anybody who has followed the moor road from Osmotherley to Hawnby. Some of its archaeological features, like Iron Howe, are well known and adequately recorded. What Bill reveals in his tireless investigation of the whole parish, is the wealth of survivals of all ages in this bleak hill country; from the medieval Byland grange at Low Cote farm, near the nineteenth century Snilesworth Lodge, back to the Iron and Bronze Ages, and further, to the first flint-knappers.

The author has gone a considerable way towards unravelling the

intricacies of these remains, but never loses his eye for the terrain and the practicalities of winning a livelihood from unpromising soils. He follows the late Don Spratt in identifying the ridge and river boundaries of Bronze Age 'estates', though he dislikes the term 'estate' as too feudal in its implications, and prefers to see them as (extended) family farms; he adds, shrewdly, that probably 'their lives and farming were not widely different from those of nineteenth century subsistence farmers in the same valleys'.

The later chapters, bringing the story of Snilesworth up to date through documents like estate surveys and census returns, puts more emphasis on these same farmers and their hands; surnames like Chapman, Dunning, Garbutt, emerge and endure throughout the written record. The primitive conditions, overcrowded cottages and unremitting toil are given due weight; it should not be overlooked that there are records of not one but two poorhouses in this remote and sparsely populated parish. But the other side of the coin is there too: the resilience and adaptability of the working men and women who spent their lives here, and their readiness to exploit every marginal resource, from moor-coal to turf-graving and bee-keeping. Lively

drawings by Bernard Fernley, and a large number of good quality black and white photographs by the author himself help to bring the picture to life; the interleaved sections of the 1857 Ordnance Survey map are also handy, but some have got rather separated from the portion of text to which they relate.

Though he is perhaps at his best as a chronicler of people and human endeavour, Bill's coverage of the archaeological past will be of enormous value to future researchers. The somewhat mysterious enclosure at Proddales, for example (p.45: Map p.52), fully merits further investigation; there seem to be analogies with other moorland harbours like Rudland Close, north of Hutton le Hole - see *Ryedale Historian* no. 2 (1966). Any future fieldworker will certainly need Bill Cowley's account in his knapsack.

John McDonnell.

An Index to all seventeen issues of the Ryedale Historian is available from the Editor, The Hall Cottage, Appleton le Moors, York, YO6 6TF, Price £ 1.00

Notes

